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ABSTRACT

This teaching manual presents a model course for eighth graders involving the study of the ethnic groups that make up an American urban community. The course considers cultural, historical and sociological elements of immigrant groups in New York City, especially the Irish, Italian, Jewish, Chinese, Black and Puerto Rican populations. The manual describes the procedures and methodology devised by teachers in a course at New York University. These procedures were used in the teachers' own classes. The teachers began with a study either of their own or a nearby community in which a particular ethnic group predominated. This established a pattern of study and investigation which was employed in the examination of other selected ethnic communities. In concluding lessons it was possible to examine immigrant patterns in history and culture in other parts of the country. Two of the teachers' studies are described. Their courses are outlined in terms of content, teaching methods, formal lessons, and student assignments. Some student responses, as taken from their compositions, are presented. Also included in this manual is an extensive section on the immigrant experience in literature. Selections are taken from works dealing with the six major ethnic groups mentioned above. The manual is supplemented by a bibliography. (GC)

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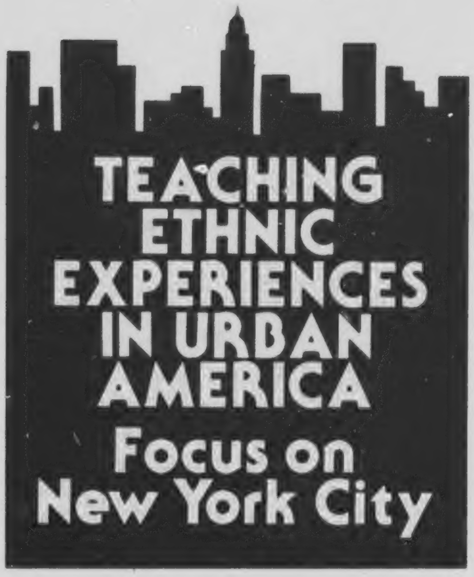

TEACHING ETHNIC EXPERIENCES IN URBAN AMERICA

Focus on New York City

EXPERIMENTAL MANUAL FOR TEACHERS
BASED ON PLANS AND MATERIALS
PREPARED BY 13 TEACHERS IN A
COURSE ON ETHNICITY IN URBAN AMERICA
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
UNDER A GRANT FROM THE
UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

PREPARED AND EDITED BY

MAX NADEL
PROJECT DIRECTOR

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Dr. William D. Griffin, Vice President
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The China Institute in America
The American Irish Historical Society
The American Association for Jewish Education
The Italo-American Forum

In the work on this project the Association for Multiethnic Programs was joined by the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History and the Puerto Rican Institute for Social Research.

PREFACE

This manual is an experimental work. It is an attempt to present a unique course for eighth grade students involving an in-depth study of the ethnic components that make up an urban community in the United States. It deals with sociology, history, and culture. It begins with a thorough study of one local ethnic community, usually the one in which a majority of students in a class or school live, and branches out to study other ethnic communities in the city. It is hoped by means of such study that students will learn the history of their people's immigrant experiences in America and take pride in their people's culture and accomplishments and develop also a knowledge and respect for the history and ways of the ethnic groups in the city.

It is hoped also that this experiment will demonstrate the necessity of making the history and culture of immigrants in America an essential element of any study, whether in the middle or secondary schools, of American history. Such a view is presented in detail in Cartwright and Watson's THE REINTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

This manual is the product of many hands. First, I must thank the thirteen teachers who completed the course at New York University in ETHNICITY IN URBAN AMERICA, who prepared materials and used them experimentally in their classes, and whose materials were used in the preparation of this manual. Gertrude Alcock, John Doria, Claire Korn, Anna Krouthammer, Jay Linker, Stewart Lyons, Walter McGrath, Sister Ann McLaughlin, Sister Rose Carmel, Sister Theresa McCombe, Dolores Reilly, Stefan Sottosanti, and Patricia De Rose Zuvich.

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Fourth, I appreciate deeply the kindness of the publishers who permitted me to reproduce passages from various works which were used in the manual to demonstrate the nature of the content and the pedagogical approaches that might be used in teaching ethnic studies to eighth grade students. The particular works from which passages were chosen are indicated in the text. These titles are also starred in the bibliography.

Fifth, I am most grateful to Dr. Mark F. Goldberg from whose unpublished anthology of works by American Jewish writers from 1881 to 1917 I borrowed a number of short selections and to the many students in the classes of the teachers in the course who submitted compositions. These students' essays and narratives served to form a significant unit in the manual.

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June, 1977

Max Nadel
Project Director

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FOREWORD

THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION TO AMERICAN CULTURE

There are three views of the manner in which immigrant populations adjusted to American life. The first, which occurred early in the history of the United States, was the movement to accept the values and the ways -- social and religious -- of the Anglo-Saxon culture. The primary goal of incoming populations was to assimilate, to shed their own cultures and to adopt the culture of the new world. Early American culture was based on a Protestant way of life, whose concerns affected attitudes towards government, business, religion, and the arts. A large Irish and German immigrant population came to America beginning in the 1850's. Most of these newcomers sought to adjust to the Anglo-Saxon culture. Even in their religious practices, some changes were introduced to give their faiths a semblance of the patterns and observances of the prevailing Protestant faith.

With the influx into the country, beginning in the 1880's and continuing into the twentieth century, of Italian and East European immigrants, a new conception of the integration of immigrant populations into America was formed. It was called the "melting pot" theory. It pointed out that the impact of new peoples upon American culture was to create an amalgam, a new kind of culture, containing elements of the original Anglo-Saxon structure, and characteristics infused by the strangers who came to American shores to establish a new life. The unique institutions created here by these diverse peoples colored the existing structures and also affected one another's social and political organisms to create a new mold which was universal and acceptable to all. Change was an essential quality of the evolving pattern, but it had to be change that fitted the social, political, and religious traditions of the land. The goal of education became to create an American sufficiently like all other Americans so that he could take his place in society without being noticed as different or exotic.

The "melting pot" theory did not seem to explain what was occurring in the "body social" of the nation. A single, recognizable exemplar did not take shape. Among the immigrant populations of America, unique usages, observances, and styles prevailed. There was interchange among the cultures. There was camaraderie in politics and business, in may social and sport events, and in the arts. But most peoples held on strongly to the traditions, conventions, and observances that they brought with them. They continued to maintain ties with the worlds they left; and they insisted that their children and grandchildren be educated in the culture of the old country, learn the language of their ancestors, and practice the ways of their forbears.

A third conception of immigrant adaptation began to emerge in the 1930's. It arose out of an awareness 1) that the immigrant populations constituted ethnic groups as well as national groups, 2) that there was continued existence of cultural constellations in American society, 3) that parallel cultures could and did exist at the same time, 4) that separate socio-religious groups had formed in the country, 5) that the diverse peoples of America were concerned with maintaining and enriching their uniqueness, 6) that keeping one's culture alive added a richness to one's sense of self, and 7) that finally, the fusion of one's historical and racial heritage with the heritage of America made for a better citizenry and enriched American culture. This new theory was called "cultural pluralism."

It is the one that with some variations has most credence today. It conceives more specifically of American society as being divided into four socio-religious groups: Catholic, Jewish, White Protestant, and Black Protestant. Within all of these separate groups there are differences in cultural values and practices depending upon their history in this land, the ways they brought with them from their country of origin, and their ethnic identity. However, with each new generation the differences within each of the groups merge and a generalized culture begins to evolve. This is true, for example, of the Catholic group. In the 1870's the different Catholic peoples, who came to this country beginning in the 1820's and who at first did not get along, began to merge their differences to form a more generalized Catholic culture. This was true also of the Jewish population as well as of the Protestant communities.

To the Teacher

For many years the curricula in the schools of the country were fashioned by leaders who sought through education to create American personalities that fitted a preconceived model. There was an image in their minds of what an American adult should be, and they sought to fashion students in their schools in that image. Very few of the students were descendants of the early immigrants who came to this country when the land was first discovered, explored, and settled. Most came later, and they brought with them a culture that had a richness and a heritage that they were loath to forsake.

The country was new and vast. A new and experimental government had been created, and because of the vision, farsightedness, and genius of its founders, it was working. It became the belief of educators, prompted by the country's leaders, that success in the business of the nation could best be achieved if all its citizens could be fashioned in a new mold called American. That mold had to embody the faith, the customs, the ideals, and the values of the earliest of the country's immigrants, those that provided the foundation for the new government and the new society.

The immigrants that came to this land in many waves during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries found its texture and business to their liking, often despite hard work and prejudicial attacks against them because they were different and because so often they competed for jobs with established working groups. The freedom they found here and the opportunity, when they became aware of it, to participate in the choice of their leaders pleased them. However, they needed friendship and security in a strange land; and so they tended to settle in groups, often isolated from other communities, and they retained not only those customs and beliefs that resembled the American ones, but the unique ones that accentuated the differences between them and other elements in American life.

In the first years of adaptation to the culture of the new world, the retention of old country language and ways sharpened conflicts between the generations. Since the goal of American education was to create an Anglo-Saxon gentleperson, the children thrown into the melting pot and beginning in school and society to assume the guise of American, became embarrassed by the ways of their parents which they frequently saw as crude and vulgar. They were ashamed to have their parents and grandparents visit their newly-found cosmopolitan circles in which everyone had been cast in an accepted form. Only American and white were beautiful. All else was ugly, and if not ugly, undesirable. If one were of another color, or race, or faith, he had to over-compensate by being conformist in all other respects to be acceptable.

In time, the view of what made an American began to change. There grew a realization, which came to be called "cultural pluralism," that America could not be and should not be a nation of single-patterned individuals. It was, after all, a nation of immigrants, and each immigrant group brought to this country a rich and unique culture that, whether practiced separately or integrated into American life, enriched the American spirit. There came a further realization and that was that books and courses on American history in schools and colleges either touched lightly or neglected altogether the immigrant experience in America and the contributions made to the growth and culture of the country by the diverse populations that came to its shores.

Elements of the Program

There is a growing concern in people to know their roots, to learn where they stemmed from, and to what degree their personalities were fashioned by the traits of their ancestors. They feel a need to know the cultural character of their people. Furthermore, in a nation of many nations like the United States, it becomes necessary, if democracy is to work, for each group to learn what it can about the culture and customs of other populations that live in the land and that with it compose the political entities under which all are governed. Because of this, there needs to be a place in the school curriculum for an in-depth study of the various facets of the immigrant character and experience. An ethnic studies course should contain at a minimum the following basic elements:

1. A study of the history and culture of the major ethnic groups that make up the local community be it village, town, city or state.
2. An attempt to integrate that study into the history of the United States as a major unit or course in the social studies sequence. In other words, any unit on the immigrant experience should become a full semester course with sub-units of its own. Integrating this content means also that, where possible, the program needs to be expanded to include the study of such ethnic peoples that may not live in one's local community but like the American Indians, Chicanos, and Chinese exist in large numbers in other communities.

It seemed to the writers of this manual that a good place for a course on ethnic content might be grade 8 in the middle school and culminate a study of United States history begun either in grade 6 or 7. A course in ethnic studies in grade 8 would be a natural transition to one in world geography and world cultures in grade 9.

The ethnic studies program outlined in this manual will begin with suggestions for directing pupils to make an in-depth study of a local ethnic community in New York City. Although the emphasis will be on studying the major ethnic groups in the city - Irish, Italian, Jewish, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese - pupils will be encouraged to study small groups in the city also, such as the Polish, Greek, or Scandinavian. The content will deal with the sociology, history, and culture of each population and will describe in some detail the procedures and the methodology devised by teachers in a course at New York University and experimentally tried out with their classes to teach this content.

The following elements will be considered in the study and will become details of the program:

A. Cultural elements

1. Family structure: obligations and responsibilities of parents and children; position in household of father, mother, sons and daughters, and other members of the home.
2. Changes wrought in values and ways as the result of the impact of American values and culture.
3. Education: at home and at school; cultural and vocational studies and activities.
4. Religion: uniqueness in the practices and observances; impact of religion on family life.
5. Recreation: elements of play, relaxation, and culture: literature, drama, music, dance, costume, food, etc.
6. Problems of identity: the search for meaning to one's existence through a knowledge of an ethnic past.

7. Conflicts and problems created by the clash of cultures.
8. The forms, happy or sad, which some of the resolutions of these conflicts and problems took.

B. Historical elements

1. Reasons for coming to America and for settling in New York City.
2. Traditional values and ways related to the cultural elements that pertained in the country of origin: definition, description, evaluation.
3. Impact of ethnic populations upon the history of the United States.
4. Contributions to American history and American culture.
5. Ethnic populations in America's wars.

C. Sociological elements

1. Economic activity: impact of economic activity upon the quality of life.
2. Class stratification: income distribution within the community; housing.
3. Spatial relationships: boundaries; use of space for various community purposes.
4. Common or shared goals such as improvement of services to the community.
5. Transportation lines: inter-community relationships and their effect upon social, economic, and cultural activity.

6. Extent of crime within the community; other harmful elements; ethnic and cultural factors involved; community attempts to deal with problems.
7. Aspects of adjustment: patterns of economic success or failure; patterns of social and cultural mobility.

The local community studies will deal with the major ethnic groups in the city and touch upon other ethnic peoples. From this examination, the program will move into the larger community of state and nation and pose some generalizations for class discussion. In addition, themes such as the following will be evaluated: 1) impact of immigration in American cities; 2) patterns of migration and settlement; 3) reasons for demographic movements; 4) theories of assimilation; and 5) theories related to cultural pluralism.

It is hoped that the outlines of lessons, materials, and strategies will provide a model for teachers in New York City and other communities to emulate.

Getting Ready

Before beginning to teach the course in grade eight on ethnicity in New York City, the teacher with the help of her department chairman or principal should seek to get the following materials for her classes:

1. Since there is no single text for such a course, a bookshelf of selected texts will have to be set up in the classroom or in a special corner in the school library. If the books are to be in the school library, arrangements will need to be made for the class to meet and work frequently in the library and for the books to be made available for borrowing. There should also be a separate reference shelf for teacher and students. Opportunities will have to be provided for students to be excused from class to work on independent study projects.
2. There should be available, if possible, for frequent use:
   - a. An overhead projector, a slide and filmstrip projector, and a record player;
   - b. Maps of the boroughs of the city and, where available, maps of local communities. The latter can be obtained from the City Planning Commission, 2 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10007, or from local planning boards. The Hagstrom Company, 450 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001, publishes excellent local maps.

Methodology

Students will engage in a variety of activities which when combined into a unit of instruction and experience will provide them with a body of information as well as the affective appreciation both of their own ethnic world and that of other groups in the city. They will be asked (and were asked as examples of units prepared by teachers in the experimental program at New York University will demonstrate) to do the following:

1. To engage in research for specific information in libraries or communities and to report on this information to the class. This should lead to questions from members in the class and, where opinion are expressed, to class discussion. Some of the research activities will involve getting information from a) texts, documents, diaries, memoirs etc.; b) interviews with people in the community studied in which they are encouraged to talk about their experience and to express their views; c) researching one's roots and constructing a family tree; d) recording the history of a landmark such as a church or synagogue, or public building; and e) investigating population changes that have taken place in the neighborhood within the last fifty years. Other projects will occur to the teacher, perhaps one or two entailing the reading of pages of old newspapers.
2. To prepare a slide program which will highlight the character of the community, its achievements and failures, the way the people live, aspects of ethnic customs, work and play, the streets, parks, commercial centers. Accompanying such a slide presentation should be a script, prepared by students, describing the scenes with occasional commentary when a scene requires one. This script can be recorded on a cassette to accompany the presentation.
3. To examine and study tabulated sociological statistics prepared by planning commissions, writers of texts, the classroom teacher, or students; such as, general ethnic population growth and mobility, occupational distributions, where the residents of a community come from, where the residents work, how the residents travel to work, what type of jobs the residents hold, population profiles, income and work profiles, etc.

4. To read and discuss documents in ethnic history and experience in the United States, and/or selections from diaries, autobiographical works, fiction, drama, and poetry. These works should be discussed for what they reveal of family structure; relations between parents and children; the problems of poverty and ghetto living; unique customs, observances, celebrations, religious practices; work as a source of livelihood and efforts made by workers to organize to improve their lot. In addition, the literary selections should be studied as works of imagination; and such matters as dramatic structure; the nature and authenticity of the characters and the way they respond to their problems; the style and theme of the work; the views of the characters and the author; the world of the work could be included where time allows.

   In fact, a supervisor might introduce an integrated social studies - English course taught by both an English and a social studies teacher working together in which the study of literary selections, outside reading, the writing of compositions; and the preparation of term reports would constitute the English elements of the program in ethnic studies. (Examples of selections and ways of teaching them will appear in the body of this manual.)

5. To prepare a collection of oral history accounts which would record, in the speech and language patterns of the teller, his or her experiences as an immigrant in this country. The accounts might be recorded on tape, played in class, and discussed; or they might be mimeographed, distributed, read in class, and discussed.

6. To interview representative members of a community to get their opinions about particular community problems such as how to keep neighborhoods from

deteriorating; how to improve the recreational facilities for the people in the area; how to encourage people to take more pride in how their neighborhood looks; how to deal with crime; how school and church or synagogue can help the young and the elderly people in the community. These opinions should be read and discussed in class and conclusions reached concerning ways of dealing with the problems.

7. To make a study of a series of cartoons culled from newspapers and magazines which present both positive and negative attitudes toward ethnic groups. The purposes of such a study would be to determine the nature of the comment which each cartoon makes and to decide: 1) What the cartoon says? 2) What motivated its creation and publication? 3) What truth, or distortion of truth, or what prejudice did it express? and 4) How ought an ethnic group praised or maligned in this way respond to it? After one or two lessons in analyzing cartoons, students might attempt to draw cartoons themselves commenting on a problem or condition in their neighborhood or school, or in the city.

In addition, students should be taken on trips to the unique ethnic centers of the city, be given opportunities to witness celebrations and holiday observances, taste ethnic foods, and talk to people in the communities they visit. If possible, speakers from different ethnic groups might be invited to speak to the students.

General Course Outline

The purpose of this social studies program for eighth grade students in New York City is to acquaint them with the history and culture of the six major ethnic groups in the city - the Irish, Italian, Jewish, Chinese, Black, and Puerto Rican - and to a lesser degree with the history and culture of other ethnic populations in the city.

The teachers in the course at New York University began with a study either of their own community or of a nearby community in which a particular ethnic group predominated. This established a pattern of study and investigation which was employed in the examination of selected communities in which the other ethnic groups existed in large numbers in a tight communal organization. From the study it was possible in concluding lessons in the program to branch out, not in-depth, because time did not permit it, to examine immigrant patterns in history and culture in other parts of the country.

Programs of Ethnic Community Studies (See also page 50.)

1. Study of the Italian American Community in Bensonhurst, a district in the Borough of Brooklyn in New York City.

   This was a unit taught by Sister Rose Carmel, a teacher at Our Lady of Guadalupe School in Brooklyn and one of the teachers in the course on Ethnicity in New York City at New York University. The program for the year in her eighth grade class was to include a similar study of five other communities in which the predominant populations represented other ethnic groups such as the Blacks in Flatbush, the Jews in Forest Hills, the Puerto Ricans in Williamsburg, the Irish in Rego Park, the Chinese in the lower part of Manhattan called Chinatown.

The course began with a study of the students' local community because it was easier to get information at the local level and some of the investigative and research skills would be refined for the study of the other communities.

Maps of the city and its boroughs were set up in the room, and the communities to be studied were outlined so that students could see each community studied in relation to the entire borough and to the city as a whole. The teacher also prepared many transparencies which contained the statistical information she would be asking her pupils to interpret. There was a library of texts in the classroom and another in the school library for reading, study, and research. (These were chosen from the bibliographical list which appears at the end of this manual.) A number of filmstrips on immigration and ethnic culture were also chosen. To these were added slides and cassettes prepared by the teacher and by a number of students.

The project was introduced to the class by the teacher and was motivated by having students talk about the stories they had heard from parents and grandparents about their early experiences in America. She encouraged them also to talk about their neighborhood and their community and about why they like or dislike living where they did.

She then passed out a list of projects and activities from which students or committees of students were to select the ones in which they were interested in working on and reporting to the class. The list contained the following projects:

1. Prepare a series of maps of Bensonhurst. On each one record one of the following elements of community services: (Be sure to label them.)
    a. The different types of educational institutions for people of all ages--schools, libraries, museums, community centers, etc.
    b. The police stations, firehouses, sanitation centers, etc.
    c. The transportation lines and routes: subways, elevated trains (if any), buses; also the main highways for automobile traffic.

d. The recreational centers and the business and residential areas: parks, playgrounds, areas which are all residential, streets which are shopping centers, etc.

This work should be done by a committee. Accompanying these maps should be a report praising the accomplishments and recommending with reasons improvements and changes that in the estimation of the students should be made.

2. Prepare a series of slides whose purpose it is to describe the community: its typical homes and buildings, its public institutions, its parks and recreation centers, etc. This, too, should be done by a committee. Accompanying the slide program should be a script describing the frames, the total program being a portrait of the community. If possible, the script should be recorded on tape.

3. It would be interesting and useful to record an oral history of the immigrant experience of older people in the community. A committee of students, with the possible help of priests and/or ministers of a church or the rabbi of a synagogue,could arrange to talk to older parishioners to get the story of why and how they came to America, where they first settled, what problems they faced, what kind of work they did, what efforts they made to provide education for their children. These can be recorded as notes and then written up. If it is possible, students might be able to get tape recorders on which the exact oral statements can be recorded.

4. Prepare a family tree of your parents, close relatives, and ancestors as far back as you can go. Use whatever design (a tree; a series of squares, triangles, or circles; a chandelier or a building; anything that appeals to you) on which to record your findings. Select one of the people in your family tree--it may be yourself-- and write his or her story.

5. Pretend that you are an inquiring reporter. Compose one, up to four, questions to ask people in the community; questions concerning how they came to live in this community, how to improve the quality of life in the community. Is there too much crime? Is there sufficient police protection? Are the young people well behaved or are they too uncontrolled? Have they encountered any prejudice on their jobs or anywhere else? When you have composed your questions, get anwers from different people and record these in the form of a column for a newspaper. (You might even ask questions about the kinds of work people do or how they spend their holidays or vacations or what their views are about current problems such as ecology.)
6. Select one or two churches or synagogues in your neighborhood and write a history of that institution. The priest, minister, or rabbi will help you. There may be pamphlets, bulletins, and other sources to consult. Some of the older people may be able to give you information. Choose an older church or synagogue, if you can, one that has had a changing congregation over the years.
7. Write a letter to a friend whose religion is different from yours. Describe for him or her the celebration of a special holiday or festival in your home, in your church or synagogue, and/or in your community. Include descriptions of ceremonies, of special foods that are served, of costumes that are worn if they are special. Make it a first person account with you as a chief participant, or a third person account in which you give information. (If you wish, you can describe a ceremony such as baptism, confirmation, Bar Mitzvah, marriage, even a funeral.)
8. Choose someone in your community whom you know and who is uniquely a representative of his ethnic group: an Italian, a Puerto Rican, or Black

or Jewish worker or storekeeper; an elderly man or woman of any ethnic background; a priest or rabbi or teacher, or policeman, or fireman. Write a character sketch of this person emphasizing those qualities that identify him as a member of his ethnic group: the way he looks, the way he speaks, his actions, his personality. Include what you have learned of his background, his views on some subjects, his family, etc. (If you have difficulty doing this, find a description in one of your literature texts and imitate it substituting the person you are describing, his qualities of character and personality, his actions, and his attitudes.)

9. There have been many times in the history of immigrants in American when particular groups have been subjected to prejudice. Write the story of such an experience which either you or a friend might have had or describe such an experience had by someone in your family, possibly a grandparent. Conclude your story with a statement concerning what you think can be done to root out prejudice in America.

10. Make a study of the early history of your community: who its founders were, how it developed into a community, how the streets got their names, what groups lived there first, when and how its present population came to live there, etc. (This information is obtainable from the City Planning Commission, 2 Lafayette St. in New York City or from the Local Planning Board, or from the local newspaper office where they may have copies of early publications. Your teacher will help you find this information.) Below are examples of two such reports, prepared by the teacher, to serve as models. These reports should be presented to the class for information and discussion. Basic questions to be raised are: 1) What value does this information have? Is it typical of how other communities in the city

developed? What forces help to build an attractive community? What forces cause a community to decay? What brings particular people into certain communities? (The teacher may decide to prepare such histories himself/herself,as was done here, and use these as bases for discussion of questions such as the ones indicated above.)

BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN - YESTERDAY AND TODAY

EARLY HISTORY

Shortly after Henry Hudson sent a report of his discoveries to Holland, Adrian Block, in 1613, came to the New York area, sailed up the East River and named Hell's Gate and Block Island. Later, following his settlement in the year 1639, the Dutch government gave a grant to Jansen Van Sales of about 200 acres of land on the "bay" to improve it. It was in 1643 that a house was erected on the premises.

At this time, Lady Deborah Moody with other dissenters came to New Amsterdam to avoid religious persecution. She asked to establish a chartered town. In 1645 she was granted a patent for land with which to build the town of Gravesend. The village of Bensonhurst contained territory included in the grants to Van Sales and Lady Moody.

"Bensonhurst-by-the Sea," as it was called, became part of the old township of New Utrecht, about fifty-one blocks, from 20th Avenue to 23rd Avenue, from 78th Street to Gravesend Bay. A large part of this section constituted land purchased in 1888 by a pioneer builder, James D. Lynch.

Mr. Lynch, who was a New York real estate dealer, purchased property from the heirs of a Mr. Benson, who for years had used the land for farming. He was instrumental in introducing many improved rapid transit facilities, which resulted in beginning activity in Bensonhurst and in the development of many new homes. He, himself, built attractive residences and encouraged others to come live and work in that locality.

The Benson Mansion was a fine old Revolutionary landmark which was located on the southeast corner of Benson Avenue and 20th Avenue. It was known as "Bensonhurst." This name was finally given to the whole section.

Mr. Lynch bought one square mile of land which sloped upward from Gravesend Bay. He levelled the land, planted trees, and set up lawns, intersected by neat, regular, well-kept streets. In order to keep the harmony of the neighborhood, he had the streets graded according to the character of the residences. One street had to have houses built at a cost of no less than $10,000; others at no less than $7,000; while the third had to be at no less than $3,000. Stores were allowed only on designated streets. Mr. Lynch, thus, encouraged the building of attractive residences. Fields that "once waved with corn were intersected by broad avenues and partitioned into building lots."

Bensonhurst was early chosen by numerous doctors for their invalid patients requiring pure air and sea bathing. A sanitarium built there remained in use until 1802 when it was destroyed by fire. Today, the Avon Hotel stands on this site.

Mrs. Grossman, an "Old Timer," describes Bensonhurst as not a very large section. It was strictly residential with the exception of three stores located next to each other on the northeast corner of Bay Parkway and 86th St. On 86th Street, there were only private houses.

Restrictions continued until 1905. Then ground was broken and the first stores with apartments above them were built on Bath Avenue between Bay 25th and Bay 26th Streets. The first large apartment houses appeared on Bay Parkway and Benson Avenue.

In 1903 Reverend William Gardiner, who became the Rector of St. Finbar's Roman Catholic Church on Bath Avenue, noted that during his twenty-five years as Rector he saw "spacious lawns, private boat landings and elegance turned into shipyards, apartment houses, stores, and small dwellings built close together."

About 1880, Catholic families at Bath Beach found it difficult to travel to Mass. The three churches in existence at the time, namely, St. Patrick's at Fort Hamilton, St. John the Evangelist at 22nd Street and 5th Avenue, and St. Mary's at Court Street were too far to get to. To satisfy the Sunday Mass attendance obligation, William Swain, a prominent Catholic resident of Bath Beach, presented the town with a strip of land on Bay 20th Street for the purpose of building a church. Note that this occurred at a time when the old burghers of New Utrecht, who were mainly Lutherans, were not so well disposed toward the Roman Catholics.

The Bath section of Bensonhurst was a place of wealth and prestige. The dwellings displayed the grandeur of the plantation homes of the South. Among the finest homes were the Whitney Estate, and the homesteads of the Wrights, the Van Pelts, and the Hegemans.

Under William Swain's stipulations, in 1910, the beautiful Church of St. Finbar's was built. It received its name at the request of William Swain, who named it after St. Finbar's Cathedral in Cork, Ireland. Its architecture was designed with one thought in mind that it would have the elegance of a perfect cathedral in every respect except in dimensions. It is indeed an architectural masterpiece displaying the beauty of the Italian Renaissance. The Wright Mansion, adjacent to the Church and later used as a boarding house, was purchased by the Church.

A few words on early transportation in Bensonhurst is in order here. In 1894 the trolley car was in existence and, as stated in the New York Recorder, "the era of content and comfort" had given way indeed to one of progress and unrest. The Gunther Line on the Bath and Coney Island Road traversed Bensonhurst. Fares from Greenwood Cemetery to Coney Island Road were thirty-five cents and the railroad fare was ten cents, thanks to Mr. Lynch's agreement with the railroad authorities. The 5th Avenue railway reached 36th Street, a point where Culver's and the Brooklyn Bath and West End would have a union station depot. Passengers from the Brooklyn Bridge could reach Bath Beach and Bensonhurst in thirty minutes over the 5th Avenue elevated and the Brooklyn, Bath, and West End Railroad. Bensonhurst was also accessible by the Sea Beach Railroad from 65th Street.

"Up until 1900, the Long Island Railroad ran to Manhattan Beach. The trains would emerge from Avenue H, cut and run parallel to the Brighton Line, across a trestle at Neptune Avenue." So states Mr. F. Rosenberg's account to the Sunday News. He also included the following:

"There was also a battery-operated, four wheel trolley which ran from the Sheepshead Bay, Brighton Line Station, across the same trestle, then along Oriental Boulevard to Oriental Point."

We have traced the transformation of a square mile of land from farmlands to paved streets and beautiful residential areas and noted the stirrings of commercial activities. We have encountered names such as Moody, Benson, Van Pelts, Lynch, Dyker, Utrecht, Whitney, Cropsey, Gardiner and Swain. We have noticed their settlement and how their names came to be engraved forever in the area.

It is now time to weave new and colorful threads in the tapestry of Bensonhurst with the arrival of new ethnic groups, and in particular, the Italians.

BENSONHURST AND ITS ITALIAN AMERICANS

Bensonhurst today includes Bath Beach near the shore, New Utrecht inland to the North East, Ulmer Park reaching into Gravesend District and Mapleton, largely located in the Borough Park District.

There are no natural separating boundaries. On the South, Gravesend Bay borders the district; on the East are the busy strips: Bay Parkway, Stillwell Avenue, and 26th Avenue mark the beginning of the Gravesend-Coney-Island District (District 13); on the South, Gravesend Bay borders it, and on the West, 14th Avenue separates it from Bay Ridge. Bensonhurst blends indistinguishably into the solid residential patterns of Brooklyn.

In 1870, when the Kingdom of Italy was created, the economic and political upheaval that struck the old kingdom of Naples and Sicily resulted in an unprecedented wave of emigration to America. Between the years 1880 and 1920, four and a half million Italians left their native soil: from Mezzo-giorno -- Rome to the Southern tip of Italy as well as the island of Sicily which had been wrested from Spain by Garibaldi and made part of Italy in the 1860's.

The first immigrants came in large numbers to the United States after the close of the great period of land settlement. Between 1860 and 1880 the birth rate in Southern Europe had been high. Breadwinners could not earn enough to support their families, and noticeable numbers emigrated to the United States. In 1882, twenty thousand Italian immigrants arrived into New York, forming colonies on Baxter Street, Mott Street, and Eleventh Avenue. The years 1885 to 1915 witnessed the period of a great migration with the peak occurring between 1900 to 1910, when approximately two million Italians from Southern Italy came to the United States. They settled in the New England States and, especially, in New York. Eighty percent of the arrivals were male, many of whom saved their earnings and later returned to Italy. Finally, from 1920 to 1930, immigration became stabilized. It is to be noted that by 1903 the Italian population in New York, including the first generation, was 382,775, making New York the fourth largest Italian city in the world. It contained more Italians than Florence and Venice together. These immigrants formed Italian colonies in Manhattan, from First and Second Avenues at 102nd Street through 125th Street.

It was from this "Little Italy," as well as from Harlem and the Village, that many Italians came to Bensonhurst. In the 30's and 40's, migration increased greatly, resulting in the creation of one of the most solid Italian-American communities - first in Bay Ridge and then in Bensonhurst. This influx increased in the 40's and 50's and especially after World War II.

Miss Frances Steppe, a parishioner of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, located at 15th Avenue between 72nd and 73rd Streets, reminisces about her family's coming to 72nd Street in 1905. She has lived there all her life. "The Italians first came to Bensonhurst in 1920," she said, "many leaving the colony at 69th Street." She recalls her graduation from P.S. 176 in 1921 where, out of forty pupils, two-thirds were Italians.

The migration of the Italians into Bensonhurst resulted in the Irish exodus. The Irish inhabitants moved to Long Island or out of state. By 1976, ninety-five percent of the population of Bensonhurst had become Italian-American.

By the 1970's Bensonhurst's population had reached 120,000 with a minimal shift in population. Even though some Italian-Americans had moved to other areas within and out of the city, the influx of new groups of immigrants helped to maintain the ethnic character of the neighborhood. Prior to the 70's, the only effort to move from over-crowded sections was by spreading their community to areas adjacent to the center of their neighborhood or to other parts of the city. Major concentration of population developed in Bensonhurst, as well as in Bath Beach, Gravesend, Park Slope, Sheepshead Bay, and Canarsie. The Italians almost entirely moved out of Manhattan.

As is evident, the Italians have remained mainly an urban people. They have strong attachments to their neighborhood and family. Their roots are in the village-mindedness ("provincialismo"). Early immigrants from Italy sought and enjoyed the companionship of their own. This pattern of segregation has not really changed today. There is a marked stability in Italian neighborhoods. As a rule, Italians renovate homes and surroundings. Bettering the appearance of a neighborhood is a unique urban characteristic of the Italian community. Vacant lots are transformed into market gardens. Sandy wastes are turned into vineyards and berry patches. A sense of art is used in renovating the interior and exterior of their homes. The lawns are beautified with landscaping and gardening. There is community pride in the appearance of their dwellings. One-family dwellings are prevalent. There are also a considerable number of two-family and elevator apartment houses.

Bensonhurst's neighbors are of varied ethnicity. Gravesend, to the east, has a population of Russian Jews and Italians with a scattering of other Europeans. Bay Ridge, to the northwest, has a large percentage of Scandinavians and Italians; to the east, Bensonhurst is populated by Italians with Russian, Polish and Austrian Jews in the central and western parts. Sea Gate has Russian Jews in the western sections, with Italians in the east.

Adverse forces and prejudices resulted in warping public opinion concerning the Italian character and culture. Italians are not an idle and thriftless people. Their homes and surroundings are evidence of this. A little kindly guidance and instruction can mold them into almost any form. They are hard workers and they have helped to build the city. Many of the early immigrants were exploited by shrewd compatriots who managed to land them in America without means.

Many second generation Italians sought to shed old country ways and to become American. They discovered that unjust and unwarranted prejudice interfered with their efforts to be successful in trades or professions. The unlawful conduct of a minority of Italians placed a stigma on the entire group. As is the case with other immigrant groups, Italians brought with them many of the unpolished patterns of peasant life. America with its schools and values refined the personalities and the ways of second and third generation descendants and cast them in the mold which has become the fashion of those who had come earlier and who had absorbed American traditions.

Italians have made great efforts to better their economic condition. The "new"immigrants have often "pushed themselves to the limits of human endurance," because money represented to them what a homestead had represented to the "old immigrants." They were not really greedy or materialistic, but they had been completely at the mercy of the landowners and leaders of the world they left. In America it was important that they have full control of their lives. In Europe, land, family or piety gave status to a peasant. In America, money was important. With it the immigrant was "somebody" in his little world, whether it was at the market, in the clothing store, or at the cafe.

In the 1950's, the Italians displayed their most permanent economic growth. Their first business ventures were needle trade "shops." Many went into the construction business. Others opened small stores and sold groceries and vegetables.

With the growth of the community, 18th Avenue and 86th Street became the "Broadway of Bensonhurst." Here shopping centers abound, with stores that sell clothing, shoes, men's and women's apparel, draperies, lace work, confectionery, bakeries, and household furnishings. Italians are famous for their restaurants, catering establishments, flower shops, and pizza parlors. Along 18th Avenue, the latter types of establishments are joined by espresso shops. With time the "Mom and Pop" stores gave way to larger and more impersonal businesses. "Paesani" clubs as well as Bocci courts are numerous. Other shopping areas exist on 86th Street between 17th and 24th Streets, as well as in sections of 18th and 20th Avenues and Bay Parkway. There are about three hundred concerns on these streets from automobile agencies to delicatessen and furniture shops. Korvettes Department Store provides good parking facilities and is a main attraction.

There is little industry in Bensonhurst. A small industrial pocket,where establishments dealing with oil burners, lumber, food products, fabrics, laundry services,exists on 63rd Street between 14th and 17th Avenues. Also, along the shore are boat and machine shops, oil tanks, coal heaps, a contractor's yard, some refuse dumps, a derelict car lot, and the Southwest Brooklyn Department of Sanitation incinerator.

Education in Bensonhurst is good. Large proportions of students are in private or parochial schools. The public schools give a good education. The average fifth grader reads several months above grade level. There are 3,600 unused school seats, as recorded for the year 1967. Four hundred children were bused. More intermediate space is needed. There is a large attendance in the high schools: New Utrecht High School, Roosevelt High School in Borough Park, Lafayette High School in Gravesend. Crowding is relieved by John Dewey High School in Coney Island.

Fortunately, the means of transportation for business and pleasure are many. The new Belt Parkway connects Dyker Beach Park and Sheepshead Bay along the Gravesend Bay waterfront. The subways and "el" connections are many - both the Independent B train and the BMT N train, M train, and RR train. Bus lines are located along the main auto routes: 13th Avenue, New Utrecht Avenue, 18th Avenue, Bay Parkway, Bay Ridge Parkway, 86th Street, Stillwell Avenue, and Cropsey Avenue. The New York City Staten Island Ferry can be easily reached, as well as the Verrazano Bridge, connecting Bay Ridge to Staten Island.

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES

The students selected the projects on which they were going to work, either individually or in committees. They were given three weeks to do the research and to prepare reports, some of which would be selected for presentation to the class.

During this period the class and the teacher engaged in two basic activities. The first was the writing of compositions in which pupils recorded ethnic experiences in which they or members of their families were the principal figures. They wrote on the following topics: Family Celebrations, Customs and Traditions of My Family in the Old Country and in America, How My Parents (or Grandparents) Came to America and the Problems They Faced, Encountering Prejudice in America, Saints' Feasts, Work Experiences of My Parents (or Grandparents), Conflicts Between Parents and Children, What America Means to Me.

Some of the best compositions were read and discussed in class. (A good approach is to put together an "ethnic history," using selections from students' compositions, under the following headings: Coming to America, Work, Housing, Family Relationships, Celebrations and Customs, Conflicts. This history can be reproduced and can serve as the text for three lessons or more.)

The selections below were taken from compositions written by eighth grade students in a number of schools. They deal with various aspects of immigrant experiences, and are arranged under different headings.

The teacher can read a number of these selections to a class and discuss them. However, if it is possible to mimeograph them so that they can serve as a text, it would be better. (The editor is indebted most to Sister Rose Carmel O.P. and her students at Our Lady of Guadalupe School in Brooklyn, and to Stefan Sottosanti and his students at St. Gerard's School in Queens. Most of the selections in this series come from essays written by their students.)

It is the belief of the editor that text material need not always be the work of skilled creative writers or textbook authors. Students frequently enjoy reading and discussing the work of their peers. The experiences recounted tend to be closer to their own.

Coming to America

1. My grandmother was born on the island of Sicily, Italy. Her mother had married a man more than twice her age, so he left my great grandmother a young widow with four children.

In Italy, there was no way for a woman to make a living to support her family, so my grandmother decided to come to America with her children. They came by boat and it took twenty three days to arrive here. All the women slept in the hold of the ship, and all the men slept on the deck. They arrived at Ellis Island on October 6, 1906.

2. My relatives came from the Black Forest of Germany, which is covered with fir and spruce trees. My great great grandmother and great great grandfather came to America with one daughter. They came in the late 1850's. They came to America by boat, and it took about 33 days to complete the trip. Since they were poor people they sailed third class. The conditions were very bad, and the weather was very rough. They were sick most of the trip.

3. In 1970, the government of the U.S. increased the quota for immigrants from India for professional persons such as engineers, doctors, scientists. My father who is an engineer went to the American Consulate General in Calcutta to obtain an immigrant visa. He was told to present his college degree, his birth certificate, passport, and proof of experience.

When my father produced all these documents, they sent these to the Justice Department. They approved my father's petition, and the Consulate General issued an immigration visa to my father. The government of India allowed him $400 in foreign exchange which he was to return within one year. He took the money, boarded a Pan Am 747 jumbo jet and flew to Kennedy Airport in New York on July 8, 1970.

4. My great grandfather came to this country from Russia in 1906. Life for the Jewish people in Russia was hard. It was not only that they were poor and often did not have enough to eat. They also suffered from attacks from Russian peasants and soldiers. These were called pogroms. My great grandfather served in the Russian army. Because he was Jewish, he was made fun of and was mistreated. When he got out of the army, he had had enough of Russia. With the help of relatives he came to America. He was a student and a soldier. He could not find a job. His friends helped him, and they taught him to become a house painter.

5. I remember my sister telling me that she had expected to become white, yellow-haired, and blue-eyed as soon as we reached America on the plane. In those days, she had thought only white, blonde, and blue-eyed people lived here.

That first year, we lived with my aunt and uncle. For a few weeks, because Philippine time is about a half a day ahead of New York time, we slept during the day and prowled around at night, fascinated with the modern apartment.

Among us kids, my brother adjusted the best. My sister rebelled against the strange language, strange first grade, and most of all, strange foods.

Learning English was difficult. I still have a Philippine accent whenever I'm excited. Ironically, although I understand my parents, I can't speak the Philippine language. Whenever I try, it comes out so clumsy because of my New York accent.

6. I can still remember the day when my parents brought me to America. I was only six years old. I still know what airline I was on when I came to America.

On a certain day in 1969, I finally got off the plane and was in America. At first our family had to find a place to stay. We knew where our cousins lived and we joined them. My father, who is Chinese and who had a diploma and degrees, had a very hard time finding a job.

7. My mother told me that the first members of her family who came to America were her grandmother and grandfather. They lived in a three room apartment in a tenement building on the lower East Side in New York. What was strange and sad was that hard-working Chinese men lived in some of the apartments in the building. All rooms were bedrooms. The men came there only to sleep. One never saw any women or children. These men must have had very lonely lives.

Coming to America

Questions for discussion

1. What motives led the people whose stories are told here to come to America?
2. What were the most serious problems and difficulties that they faced in the new country?
3. What problems did the early Chinese immigrants face when they came to America? For example, can you explain why only Chinese men lived in some of the apartments?
4. What differences were there between the world of the old country and that of the new? Why were most of the immigrants not sorry that they came here?
5. So many different people came to America; yet in so many respects, they were alike. In what ways were they alike?

Suggested Activities

1. In none of the selections is there an account of what conditions were like on the boat coming to America. See if you can get this information and write a report or story of a sea voyage to America during the years 1880 to 1910.
2. Write a dialogue between two Americanized immigrants of different ethnic groups in which they talk about their experiences in the new world.

Housing

1. In the 1920's there was no electricity. Some homes were lit and heated by gas. People were able to get gas by putting quarters into gas meters. When houses got dark and the gas ran out, it was time to put another quarter in the meter. Before the 1920's, people used to heat only the kitchens because the coal stove or gas heater was the only heat they had. In the winter they heated their beds by putting hot bricks in them. They also boiled water and put it in bottles to warm the beds.

2. My grandfather used to describe the house he lived in when he was a boy growing up in America. It was called a tenement. His family made up of five people, father, mother, and three children lived in a three room apartment. There were windows in only one room, the living room, which faced the backyard. The toilet was in the hallway and was shared with the family next door. Sometimes the family took in one or two boarders. They were relatives who had just arrived in America. There was a coal stove in the kitchen which heated the apartment. My grandfather's father would buy a sack of coal and keep it in the house. In summer, when it was very hot, many of the tenants in the building slept on the roof. Sometimes he and his brother slept on the fire escape.

3. When my grandfather was a boy, he and his friends used to play in the backyard of the tenement house where he lived. The yard was enclosed by a fence. The boys would climb the fences and the fire escapesof the building. They played handball and other games in that yard. Many of the tenants in the building would throw their garbage from their windows into the yard. There were millions of flies. The boys would catch flies and throw them into spiders' webs. Frequently, when they made too much noise, the tenants

would shout at them. They even doused them with water to get them to quiet down. Girls played in the yard, too. Mostly, they jumped rope. The yard was a dirty, ugly place, but they never noticed it. It was their playground.

4. Do you know what it's like to live in a one room apartment? That is how my grandparents lived in a house in Harlem. The one room had a pot-bellied stove, a table and two chairs, and two mattresses on the floor at one end, which were their beds. A sink, a washtub, and a closet were in the room, too. You can imagine how crowded it was. There was a window that looked out on the backyard. After many years of work that was all the home my grandfather could afford.

Housing

Questions for discussion

1. The tenement houses in New York in the early 1900's were without ventilation, unsanitary, and unhealthy. Why did people live in such homes?
2. What could the people have done to make their homes a pleasant place to live in?
3. Is it true that young people are less aware of their surroundings than older people, that they can find games to play and places for fun anywhere? For example, a popular game was a contest to see who could best jump over two milk cans, one on top of the other, as they were moved farther and farther away from the curb. Tell about your own experiences.
4. What is your opinion of the high-rise buildings now being constructed for people in New York City? Do you live in such a building? How do you like it? Would you prefer living in a house of your own? Why?

Suggested activities

1. Find out what facilities were available to the people in New York City in the early 1900's for recreation: parks, beaches, play centers, places to visit, meeting rooms, theatres, etc., and report your findings to your class.
2. People in New York City used to enjoy walking across the bridges of lower Manhattan or riding on the Staten Island ferry. Take such a walk or a ride with your friends on a weekend and in class orally or in a composition describe what you saw.

Work

1. One of my grandfather's jobs was wine making. The barrels in which he put the wine were so big that in order to clean them he and his friends had to step inside of them. To make the wine, they got a table top or a large flat piece of wood and placed it on two wooden horses. When members of the family got new boots, which was once a year, the grapes were put on top of the table and crushed under the feet. While he did this, my grandfather played his guitar.

When he came to America, my grandfather worked in factories. About 1919 the piano business was booming, and so he got a job making pianos. He worked at this job from 1919 to 1942. When he left his job in 1942, he worked as a coffin maker. He worked at this job until his death.

2. My great great grandfather had been a wood carver and a lumberjack in Germany. Here in New York he found it very hard to find a job. There was no need for a wood carver or lumberjack. He needed money to support his wife and daughter and another child on the way. So he did odd jobs until he got a job as a carpenter. After many years he got a job in a factory, making furniture.

3. My grandmother came to America when she was nine years old. When she was thirteen she got a job during the summer months and was paid three dollars a week. After the summer she went back to school. At the age of fifteen she got her working papers and got a job in a factory sewing blouses. She was paid eight dollars a week.

4. My grandfather had a hard time finding a job when he first came to America. In Italy, he had been a fisherman, so he became a fisherman in America.

He had a boat in Sheepshead Bay. He put in many long hours fishing. After many years of hard work, he was able to afford a home in Bensonhurst.

5. When my great grandmother came to America she got a job in a feather shop. There were many girls like her working in the same shop. They had to choose the best feathers from a large batch, clean them, and make them look good so they could be put on dresses and hats. She worked about forty five hours a week for which she was paid ten dollars. Sometimes, she worked only two or three days a week when her boss did not get enough orders for his feathers.

6. A story that my grandmother used to tell often was about her aunt. This girl was a very good seamstress. In the old country she worked in a factory in the city. She walked three miles to and from work every day, even in the coldest weather. Often she trudged through snow. When she came to America, she got a job in a factory and continued her work. Here, as in Europe, she worked long hours. The factories were crowded and without air. My grandmother's aunt developed tuberculosis. The family did everything to help her, but she had to work. There was no money. She spent weekends near the river. She hoped the fresh air would help her. But she died. She was twenty four years old.

Work

Questions for discussion

1. Before the invention of machines, people did most work by hand. What happened to the worker when machines were invented and men and women (and children, too) worked in factories?
2. What dangers to the worker came as a result of the factory system?

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3. Which jobs in the selections do you find satisfying ones? (Can a seamstress's work be creative? What was harmful to the seamstress in the selection?)
4. Was wine making a job or an avocation? What is the difference? Can one make money from an avocation? Do you know people who do? What kind of work do they do?

Suggested activities

1. The selections describe different kinds of work, but they do not mention the real hard work -- mining, building railroads, construction, working in factories, digging, etc. -- that immigrants engaged in to help build America. Try to discover the part immigrant labor played in factory work; all kinds of construction work, such as building bridges and skyscrapers; mining, etc. and report your findings in class.
2. Another subject to investigate is how unions came into existence to protect the rights of labor, to get for the working man decent wages and safe and sanitary working conditions. Choose a large labor union and look up its history. Report your findings to your class.

Family Relationships

1. I am an Afro-American. I come from a black heritage, but I am also half Haitian. My mother is a very classy lady. My father is a hardworking man. I like being free and making up my own mind, but unfortunately I can't do this. My mother wants to choose my friends and my husband-to-be. She says I should marry a nice Haitian boy. I'm proud of what and who I am. I can't complain about who I am.

2. My mother is a citizen of the United States, but she never lets me forget that I am Haitian. Therefore when my friends are out riding their bicycles, I'm cooking dinner. I'm not complaining because I don't cook every night. I also have plenty of time to spend with my friends, and we have lots of fun. I'm not saying we should forget our background. It's just that since we live in America, I think we should adopt more American ways.

3. Very often on Saturday afternoons, after synagogue, many of our relatives gather at my grandfather's house. My grandmother is an excellent cook so there is a large supply of gefulte fish, knishes, cakes, and other delicacies on the table. The guests sit around and talk about many things. They recall experiences they had in the old country. I eat the food and listen to the stories. Some of them I've heard many times.

4. Of course, all Sundays are special days to the Italian people. My cousins and I look forward to seeing each other every week. We each go to our own parish churches and then meet at our grandparent's house for dinner. What Italian families do you know who don't have their spaghetti and meat balls on Sunday? I don't know any. I think my family has strong ties because of our Italian heritage, and I hope I can continue our traditions

when I too become " a good, old-fashioned Italian mother."

5. To me Italians are the friendliest and most hospitable people in the world. My parents are very good examples of this statement. My mother is always doing favors for people. My father could meet someone he has never known in his life and converse as if they were friends for years. Because of this amiable quality we have a very close family. We celebrate all the American holidays and of course Italian holidays. My favorite holiday is the Feast of Saint Anthony, which is on June 13. There are rides, games, and food, food, food. Of course, there is a statue of Saint Anthony and we pray to him.

Family Relationships

Questions for discussion

1. From a reading of these selections what would you say are the ingredients that make for a happy family?
2. Is it true that parents make demands upon children? What are their reasons? Are they sensible ones or unreasonable ones? What compromises do you think ought to be made?
3. How do certain customs help to keep a family together? Does it ever happen that customs create quarrels in a family? In what way?
4. People say that education begins in the home. Is this true? What does one learn in the home? Of what value is this knowledge in later life? What things that you learned in the home are related to the fact that you belong to the particular ethnic group?
5. What duties, if any, do people in a family owe to older members of the family: grandparents, for example?

Suggested activities

1. There are many plays that deal with family life. Three of these you may find interesting: Raisin in the Sun by Lorraine Hansberry, Awake and Sing by Clifford Odets, and The Diary of Anne Frank by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett. Read any one of these and report to your class what good things about family life and what problems in families it deals with.
2. Read selection one. Imagine that the student who wrote this went out on a date with a boy who was not Haitian, and her mother learned about this. Write the dialogue between the mother and daughter as you would write it for a play.
3. Food seems to be very important in family entertainments. Make a study of the foods most popular with four different ethnic peoples. Tell what ingredients are in each dish and how it is prepared. If the food is connected with a holiday or celebration, tell how it is related to that event.

Celebrations and Customs

1. My grandparents and great grandparents have always celebrated Christmas Eve in a very special way. Now my mother and father follow this same tradition. We do not eat any meat on Christmas Eve. My mother and grandmother spend all day cooking all kinds of fish specialties, calamari, scungille, pesce salada, and baccala. I really don't like the sounds or the taste of some of these foods, but the whole family must taste everything that is cooked. This is to show respect for the people who prepare the foods and to keep alive our family tradition here in America.

2. When the Irish people emigrated to this country, they brought with them a great many customs and traditions. Their main one was the celebration of St. Patrick's Day. In Ireland, after attending Mass, people would gather and parade in honor of their patron saint. It is mainly a religious celebration, and the parades are not nearly as large as our parade here in New York.

3. My great grandparents came from a little town in Sicily called Racalmutto. They brought with them a tradition that honors Saint Lucy. On Saint Lucy's day they did not eat things that were made of flour, no cake, no bread, no macaroni. It was a way of showing how much they loved Saint Lucy. She was the patron of the eyes. My ancestors thought that by honoring her, she would protect their eyes. Saint Lucy had beautiful eyes which she gave up for God. My great grandmother would cook potatoes, special pies, grain with beans, and a specialty called pannelli. As of today, my grandmother keeps up that tradition which she is passing on to us.

4. The holiest day of the year for the Jewish people is Yom Kippur. It is

also called the Day of Atonement. We ask God to forgive our sins. Jewish holidays begin in the evening and end the following day or days when night comes. We are member of a Reform Jewish congregation. We go to synagogue on the eve of the holiday and twice during the following day. Our prayers are led by our Rabbi and Cantor. We also have a choir. One of the important prayers is called Kol Nidre and is sung on the eve of Yom Kippur.

My orthodox friends spend the whole day of this solemn holiday in the synagogue. Many of them fast all day. One of them told me that before the family goes to the synagogue on the eve of the holiday, his father blesses each one of the children. He places his hands on their heads and recites a Hebrew blessing. It was a custom taught him by his father.

5. The feast I remember most is the one in honor of St. Michael. First the workers would come and set up colorful lights along the street; then people would come and set up stands to sell food, candies, toys and some stands with games and prizes. Then came the huge bandstand which was always placed in front of my aunt's house. The following day everyone waited outside for the parade which included our church band, an all Italian band, members of St. Michael's Club, and of course a beautiful statue of St. Michael wearing clothing looking like a Roman soldier and holding a sword. As they came up the street they would stop and people would pin money on the statue. That night the lights went on, the Italian band would play, and the singers would sing Italian songs. The last night of the feast there would be a battle between St. Michael and the devil. There was a wire that ran from a house window to a platform in the street. Two neighborhood boys were chosen. St. Michael would challenge the devil. He'd slide down the wire so that he looked like he was flying. Then he would slay the devil and everyone would cheer.

6. The customs of the Filipino people are a blend of many different backgrounds: China, India, Spain, the United States, other Pacific Islands. They were given to the Filipino people by early invaders, settlers, and traders. These customs affect the way we dress today, our architecture, our manners, and even our names.

One unique custom is that when a couple plans to be married, the groom's father pays for the ceremony instead of the bride's father. Filipinos hold town festivals where both young and old participate in dancing and singing. The festivals are held annually. One very important date known by every Filipino is December 30, Rizal Day. José Rizal was the first leader in the campaign for freedom.

7. In Germany, there are many old customs that are still followed by my family. Most are religious. For instance, in February on the day before Lent, my grandmother makes a certain kind of doughnut. This is eaten during the entire day and sometimes for dinner. On the Feast of Corpus Christi at five o'clock in the morning, small bands go through the towns waking the people, and all the children dress in white and bring offerings or flowers to the mass.

8. The Blessed Cross is celebrated in Colombia on May 3. Each family has a table set up usually in the dining room. It is decorated with flowers and a candle. Money and food are also placed there with a note from each member of the family. On each note there is a wish from each person. On that day everyone says "Jesus, grant my wishes" one thousand times. At the end of the day all the secret notes are burned, and the ashes are blown to the wind. This signifies that the ashes will be blown to Heaven and that God will also keep one healthy, with food and money for the rest of the year.

Celebrations and Customs

Questions for discussion

1. Most of the celebrations of the peoples of the world are related to their religions. The celebrations of different groups are different. Yet in many ways they are similar because they are related to the everyday experiences of life: birth, the passage from childhood to adulthood, marriage, death. Also, because most people in America believe in God, the customs are related to man's relationship with God, such as repentance and forgiveness, worship and prayer. Make a study of three or four ethnic holiday celebrations and show how they are motivated by similar beliefs. What are the goals of religions? Report your findings to the class.
2. Special foods are associated with many of the holiday celebrations. Choose a number of holidays of different ethnic peoples and describe the foods served on such holidays. Try to discover, by asking an older member of the community, or a minister, priest, or rabbi why particular foods are special at certain holidays.
3. Most of the holidays described in the selections are lively ones. Can you find a reason why this is so? The Jewish Yom Kippur is a more solemn holiday accompanied by fasting. Can you guess why?
4. Why is it important, especially in a country like the United States, that people learn about the religion of their neighbors and learn also to respect that religion?
5. Some celebrations are not religious. They are related to customs, leaders, and events in the country from which people came to America. Such holidays are usually national. Make a study of a number of such holidays, such as Rizal Day among the Filipinos,and report your findings

to your class.

Suggested activities

1. Draw a chart in which you attempt to show under such headings as birth, passage from childhood to adulthood, death, prayer, hymns, etc., similarities among the different religions in America.
2. Draw a chart in which you show the similarities and differences among the various national holidays in the different countries from which most of America's immigrants come.

Conflicts

1. One of the problems between parents and children comes from the different way people live in America and Italy. In Italy, parents are stricter with their children so that in America when a child wants to go to the movies or to a party, he has a hard time trying to get his parents to let him go. In Italy, children are home more with their families. In America, children become very close with their friends and they like very much to go together to movies and plays or for a soda. But their parents often won't let them go.

2. My grandfather told me that when he was a boy, his father sent him after school to a religious school called a Heder. He sat on a hard bench for three hours a day for five days a week and studied the Bible. If he was caught not paying attention, he was hit across the back with a strap. One day he refused to go to Heder, and nothing his father could say or do would make him go. Finally, his father gave up. I think this is why my grandfather believed that children in schools should have more freedom.

3. My background calls for a kind of tradition with which I do not specially agree. My parents expect me to live the life they plan for me. For example, my mother likes a Chinese girl in the neighborhood and she expects me to become her best friend and be influenced by her "Chinese ways." I have nothing against this girl but we do not share the same interests and I don't think that I could get along so well with a person that gets excited about the news and absolutely refuses to miss it. Even though I have told my mother about this she still insists on my seeing this girl often; she even invites her over without my consent knowing that I will be courteous and stay with her. Also, my parents often criticize my friends because they are mostly

white and she wants me to stay with my own kind.

In Chinese customs I am to agree with everything my parents say and not answer back. My parents are not afraid to hit me because in China, where both my parents were brought up, there is no certain age where parents have no right to hit their children. I am constantly being compared to my older sisters and brother when they were my age. Not so much to what they did but to what they didn't do, such as go out, or watch television on weekdays, go to coed parties, or even have so many friends as I do. The "good" Chinese are expected to work hard and become successful.

My parents always point out the disappointments I have caused them, having no respect, being wild, and not knowing how to speak Chinese. This is one of their biggest disappointments. They expect me to speak Chinese but how? I tell my parents that if they want me to learn Chinese that they should teach it to me, but they only reply: "Listen when we talk and you shall learn." I really don't understand this procedure; if I listen and don't know what they are saying, how do I learn Chinese?

Another disappointment has not yet come, but it will. My father wished to become a doctor but couldn't afford the school when he was younger. Now he has tried to encourage my three elder siblings to study medicine but they have all refused. I am next to be asked to study medicine but it is not my wish. My father thinks that I am rebellious and that I do these "American" things to hurt him.

4. My grandmother is from a small town in the West Indies called St. Vincent. She is and always was an active person. There was not enough for her to do in St. Vincent. That was when she saved up a little money to come to America. When she came here, it was hard for her to find a job because of prejudice.

Whenever she traveled to see the sights, she had to sit in the rear of the bus. Whenever she went to see a movie, she had to sit in the back of the theatre. When she finally got a job, it was one with low pay. Since then, my grandmother has been a nurse for 25 years.

Conflicts

Questions for discussion

1. What are the circumstances that can make possible intelligent and sympathetic dialogue between parents and children?
2. What values might there be in parents' knowing what goes on in their children's school, who their children's friends are, and what activities their children engage in?
3. According to the selections, how much privacy are young people entitled to and to what extent should they be permitted to make their own decisions?
4. List the complaints enumerated in the selections. Describe whether these complaints are justified.
5. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of traditional schools and "free" or progressive schools. The Heder was a traditional school. Why did the "grandfather" in the selection find it intolerable? How could this school have been improved?

Suggested activities

1. Set up in the classroom an encounter group of ten students, five representing parents and five representing students. Assign two students to serve as moderators. Have the students discuss the rights of growing young people in their homes. Some of the questions to be raised might be the following:
    a. At what time should children between the ages of thirteen and fifteen

be expected to be home at night?

b. At what age should parents permit their children to smoke, if at all? How about drinking beer or wine?

c. Should parents make judgments about their children's friends? Have they the right to insist that their children not go on dates with friends of another religion or ethnic group? Or keep them from being friendly with people they don't like?

d. Should parents have the right to choose what TV programs their children should watch, what movies they should see, and what books or magazines they are to read?

e. Have parents the right to insist that their children go to religious schools, participate in their form of worship, and observe the rituals and holidays of their faith?

2. What can young people do to root out prejudice that people feel towards those who are of a different religion, race, or color? What can a community and school do to achieve equality of treatment and equality of opportunity for all America's people?

3. Make a study of the injustices in term of segregation to which black people have been subjected and show the process by which the government has attempted to improve the conditions. Report your findings to the class. What more needs to be done?

Programs of Ethnic Community Studies (See also page 11.)

2. Study of the Irish American Community in Woodside, a District in the Borough of Queens in New York City.

The unit outlined below was taught by Mr. Stefan Sottosanti, one of the teachers in the course on Ethnicity in New York City at New York University. He taught at St. Gerard Majella School in Hollis, New York. This unit can serve as a model for studies of other ethnic communities in the city and can serve as a model for studies of communities in all parts of the country. As the description of the unit indicates, Mr. Sottosanti used many transparencies which he prepared himself as well as selections from articles in newspapers, magazines, and publications of church and community groups which he reproduced for class use to dramatize the themes of his unit.

Community Study: The Irish of Woodside

The following is an outline of a course dedicated to the study of the Irish community in Woodside, Queens. Listed here are the activities and teaching materials which I believe would best aid the students in discovering and investigating the community.

The Structure of the Course

Content Subjects

A) History

B) People

C) Housing

D) Business and Economic Activity

E) Transportation

F) Income

G) Education

H) Community Services

I) The Future of the Community

I. Introduction to the community study

a) Lesson: Why study a community?

b) Brief description of the community

c) The location of the community: (transparencies)

1. Woodside
2. Woodside in relation to the rest of Queens
3. Woodside in relation to the rest of New York City
4. Woodside in relation to the rest of New York State

d) The "Plan of Attack": Let the students know how they're going to go about the study of the community. Show photographs.

II. The Content

A) History

1. Map of Woodside today
2. Compare maps illustrating the history of the community (two or three)
3. Take a bus trip around the community (transparency)
4. "Dating" Activity. Students find dates of popular and important Woodside structures, arrange them chronologically, and make observations (form provided for this purpose)
5. Read histories of Woodside. Discuss what they tell about the community.
    - a) "The History of Woodside"
    - b) "Historical notes" of St. Sebastian Parish
    - c) "Woodside and Winfield"
    - d) "Woodside"
    - e) "Landmarks of New York"
6. Read old newspaper articles to see if and how Woodside has changed.
    - a) "Woodside: Picture of Sylvan Beauty"
    - b) "Woodside 'Hot Spot' - Vintage 1900"
    - c) "Greater Woodside in the Making"
    - d) Untitled
    - e) "...Fix Boundaries"
7. Interview of elderly Woodsiders (form provided)

8. Invite senior citizens and other knowledgeable people into the classroom to relate their histories.

B) The People of Woodside

1. Study of Population Map (transparency)
2. On the Street Interview / Survey. Students interview people at different locations re:residence, age, nationality, profession (form provided)
3. Read copies of "The Woodside Herald"; what people are spotlighted and are prominent in the community. Why?
4. Read "The Woodside Herald" articles and have students identify
    a) "A-Way Out Rehabilitation Center on Its Way into Woodside"
    b) "350 Woodsiders Shout Down, Vote Against A-Way Out Center"
5. Analyze and discuss 1970 Census re: Woodside Population (transparency)
6. "What Do the Signs Say" activity. Students note nationalities stated or implied on Woodside signs (form provided)
7. "Who Are the People of Woodside" activity. Students gather their information, take census of nationalities of Woodside. (Form provided) Conclude that Irish people constitute the majority.
8. Lesson: "What makes the Irish Irish?" Define "ethnic group."
9. Research Project. How, when and why did the Irish immigrate? Provide bibliography.(form provided)
10. Students learn about the Irish in America through a newspaper, The Irish Echo. (Sample article: "Irish Delegation Meets with Carter.")

11. Students read fictional accounts of the Irish Experience in America. Provide Bibliography. (Form provided)

12. "Confirming/Contradicting" activity. Students interview Woodside Irishers who have first or second-hand experience with immigration to support or deny their previous studies and conclusions.

13. Students read and discuss in class current newspaper articles on the Irish in Woodside
    a) "Through Queens with Pad and Pencil"
    b) "Archie Bunker's New Neighbors"
    c) "Woodside's Credo: God and Country"
    d) "Woodside's Irish Lilt"
    e) "Image of Woodside Turning from Irish Green into a Blend"

14. Students find examples of Irish Culture in Woodside.

C) Housing

1. Analyze the physical layout of the community of Woodside (transparency)

2. Assign separate groups of students different areas of Woodside and have them report on the physical makeup of the streets they visit: types of structures, etc. Then, have students construct a giant map, and on it represent the types of structures noted by colors: e.g., stores - red; apartment houses - green; public buildings - yellow; etc. Results will reveal much about Woodside makeup, density, etc.

3. Students analyze and discuss Woodside rent chart (transparency)

4. Students analyze and discuss "age of housing structure" chart (transparency)
5. Students analyze and discuss size of housing units chart (transparency)
6. "Housing Improvements" activity. Have students decide on areas that need improvement, and mark these areas with gold stars on the giant map. Analyze results.
7. Interview. Have students interview home owners and apartment house dwellers on the history of their homes and their feelings about living where they do.

D) Business and Economic Activity

1. Use giant map to study business and industrial areas of Woodside.
2. Have students station themselves in key commercial areas to observe: when is most shopping done; what are the strong/weak periods of activity.
3. Have students interview store-owners about their businesses.
4. Have students investigate: What kind of stores proliferate? What kinds of stores are there a need for? Have students interview shoppers. Does the proliferation or absence of any type of business reflect the tastes or buying habits of an Irish community?
5. Determine what the major businesses in Woodside are doing there. Interview owners and workers. How did they get there? Why do they stay?

E) Transportation

1. Analyze community transportation routes. (transparencies)
    - a) Automoble transportation
    - b) Subway/el/railroad transportation
    - c) Bus transportation
2. Analyze and discuss Woodsider's places of work chart.(transparency)
3. Analyze and discuss "means of transportation to work" chart. (transparency)
4. Analyze and discuss "subway travel time" chart.(transparency)
5. Have students interview people at bus stops, train platforms and garages on how they feel about how they get to work.
6. Interview people within the community on transportation within the community.

F) Income

1. Analyze and discuss Woodsider's incomes chart.(transparency)
2. Analyze and discuss Woodsider's jobs chart.(transparency)
3. Since students know such things as shopping, transportation and rent figures of Woodside, have them create a year's budget for a Woodside family of four with an income of $12,000. Have them take into account the many variables involved, including money allotted for health, travel, entertainment, food, etc.
4. Have class discuss class structure in Woodside. Is there one? In which class are the majority? Have them cite and use census tracts, giant map and other information.

G) Education

1. Analyze and discuss Woodsider's education chart (transparency)
2. Locate schools on a map (transparency)
3. If possible, have students get figures, on ethnic makeup of the students in schools. Have them compare these with the ethnic makeup of the community.
4. Have students interview Woodside students re: where they come from, how they like the school, and how the community is involved with the schools.

H) Community Services

1. Have students investigate various community services (form)
2. Find newspaper (local and otherwise) articles on Woodside's community services, and have students ascertain what is being done. (See "Woodside on the Move" newsletters)
3. Have students interview people who are served. Are they satisfied? Have students investigate and find a service that is lacking in Woodside and needed; i.e., drug rehabilitation center. Have students interview people, prominent and otherwise, to get their views.

I) Future of the Community

1. Structurally
    - a) Interview community organization operators and community leaders for plans
    - b) Read an old article on plans for the community, and see if they were realized

- c) Investigate "Woodside on the Move" program.

2. Financially
   - a) Visit community organizations and interview staffs re: budget cuts
   - b) Interview store-owners and business people on their intentions concerning remaining or moving
3. Ethnically
   - a) Analyze news articles and discuss the stability of the Irish in Woodside. Draw conclusions.
     1. "Archie Bunker's New Neighbors"
     2. "Image of Woodside Turning from Irish Green into a Blend"
   - b) Study 1960 and 1970 census findings and try to project results for the 1980 census.

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMUNITY STUDY

Motivation Lesson

Goal: To convince students that it is important to know about where and how people live in one's own community and in others.

Motivation: Play record: "Where Do the Children Play?" by Cat Stevens

> Well I think it's fine building jumbo planes
> or taking a ride on a cosmic train, switch on
> summer from a slot machine, yes get what you
> want to, if you want, you can have anything.
>
> I know we've come a long way
> We're changing day to day
> But tell me - where do the children play?
>
> Well you roll on roads over fresh green grass
> for your lorry loads pumping petrol gas
> and you make them long and you make them tough
> but they just go on and on and it seems that you can't get off.
>
> I know we've come a long way
> We're changing day to day
> But tell me - where do the children play?
>
> Well you've cracked the sky, scrapers fill the air
> but will you keep on building higher till there's no more
> room up there? Will you make us laugh,
> will you make us cry, will you tell us when to live
> will you tell us when to die?
>
> I know we've come a long way
> We're changing day to day
> But tell me - where do the children play?

Procedure: Questions on the song

1. How does the writer feel about change?
2. Why does he keep asking the title question? Is it an important question?
3. What evidence does the writer give that we've got a problem? What are his concerns specifically? (pollution, noise, space) Are they valid concerns? Why?

4. In general, what is the writer saying? (We must take care of how and where we live.) Do you agree?

Procedure: Questions about students' communities

1. What do you know about your communities?
2. What kind of people live there? What are their concerns? Is it important to know them?

Application: The course of study - the community of Woodside.

HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

Directions: From the bibliography printed below, select one book and find the answers to the following questions:

1. Why did the Irish leave Ireland? When did they do it?
2. Why did so many of them come to America rather than to some other country? How many came?
3. Why did many Irish come to New York especially? How many came?
4. How many people of Irish descent now live in America? In New York?

Please feel free to add your own questions and answers about the Irish experience in America.

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N.B.: If you come across any other books on this topic, show them to me and I'll let you know if they're worthwhile.

HISTORY OF THE IRISH IN AMERICA

The following article was prepared by Dr. William D. Griffin, professor of history at St. John's University in Queens, New York, for the teachers in the course at New York University. It became available too late for Mr. Sottosanti to use in his class. It is offered here with questions for analysis and discussion for teachers planning a unit on ethnic experience in urban America.

THE IRISH IN URBAN AMERICA

For the Irish, emigration to America seems almost the fulfillment of an historical destiny. Westernmost of the wandering Celtic peoples, they settled in ancient times on the farthest extremity of the Old World, halted only by the broad expanse of the Atlantic. Their poetry and legend are filled with fantasies about strange, wondrous lands lying across the vast ocean--and with a longing to explore these distant realms. There seems almost an inevitability in the remarkable fact that there are now more persons of Irish descent in the United States than in Ireland. In effect, the Gaels have, after two thousand years, made their ultimate westward migration.

While there is a persistent tradition of pre-Columbian voyages by Irish monks, and although a few venturesome Irishmen were to be found among the Dutch pioneers of New Amsterdam, it was as British subjects that the Irish first came to America in significant numbers. During the colonial period they formed a distinctive element in the population everywhere from New Hampshire to Georgia, with the largest concentrations in New York and Pennsylvania. Catholics, who constituted the overwhelming majority in Ireland, were relatively few, as the colonial laws discriminated against them. But the Protestant immigrants of this era regarded themselves as no less Irish for being Protestant and formed fraternal and benevolent groups like the Charitable Irish Society in Boston (1737), and the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick in Charleston (1771) on the basis of ethnic identity. Whether Catholic, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, whether indentured servant, craftsman, or merchant, their simmering resentment against an England which had long oppressed and exploited their homeland gave these transplanted Irishmen a keen sympathy with the growing revolutionary movement in America. Both countries rebelled against English rule in the 1770's, and Irish-Americans took an active part in winning freedom for the United States during the same years that their brethren at home were gaining a short-lived autonomy for Ireland. Thus, at the birth of the new republic, the Irish, though still a mere handful among those of English stock, were a recognized and accepted part of the American scene.

The repeal of the anti-Catholic laws in America and the defeat of the nationalist cause in Ireland drew new immigrants in the 1790's and early 1800's, but it was not until the prolonged Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815 that the sea lanes were safe once more and Irishmen began to enter the United States in large numbers. Economic opportunity became as great a lure as political and religious freedom during the 1820's and 1830's, for while the Irish economy stagnated, tied to a backward agricultural system for the benefit of absentee landlords, the Republic was flourishing, with its expanding network of roads, canals, and railroads offering work and opportunity to all comers. Between 1820 and 1840, some 250,000 Irish men, women, and children entered the United States, and while some of them joined the long-established Irish communities in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, many others worked their way into the interior, settling in the new towns of the Midwest, or even heading south to join in the liberation of Texas.

It was not until the third, and by far the greatest, wave of Irish immigration reached the United States that the Irish-Americans became indisputably urban. The repeated failure of the potato crop during the late 1840's deprived the Irish rural masses of their staple food and precipitated a crisis that England did little to alleviate. Hundreds of thousands died of starvation or disease, and hundreds of thousands more fled "the Famine" by crossing the Atlantic. Between 1840 and 1860, 1,700,000 refugees from the Famine and its aftermath entered the United States. Few of them had the funds to travel beyond the port cities, or, after generations of potato-digging on a rented plot, the agrarian skills necessary to cope with the American style or scale of farming. Thus, in America, the Irish--for centuries predominantly countryfolk--became city dwellers.

The Irish immigrants of the post-Famine period clung to the cities for the comfort and security of being among their own people in a strange land, and to obtain the unskilled jobs to which they were limited by their lack of training and their "foreignness." For most of them, exhausted and disoriented by the circumstances of their departure, the miseries of their passage, and the strangeness of their new surroundings, it seemed far better to remain together for mutual protection than to face further hazards on their own. By 1860, they comprised one-fourth the population of New York City; within another twenty years, they and their children made up about one-third of that population, with proportionate strength in the other major Eastern cities, and the industrial centers of Massachusetts, upstate New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The tolerance accorded the Irish of the colonial period by Americans of English stock was badly strained by the growing number of immigrants after 1820--and broke down completely as the Famine refugees poured into the country. The early nineteenth century immigrants were feared and hated as Catholics, in an era when the English heritage of religious bigotry was still very much alive. Some of the long-established Irish-Americans sought to disassociate themselves from these newcomers by adopting the label "Scotch-Irish" for their ancestry in place of the simple designation "Irish" that had been borne proudly in earlier generations. Newly-arrived Protestant immigrants found a much readier acceptance if they disassociated themselves as militantly as possible from their fellow-Irishmen (hence the frequent brawls between "Orange" and Catholic groups in nineteenth-century New York and Boston). And some Irish Catholics who ventured away from the Atlantic seaboard found it expedient or necessary to further their Americanization by conversion to the prevailing religions of their new country. Most Irish immigrants, however, were and remained Catholics, clinging stubbornly to their religion in the face of occasional violence and invariable prejudice, and passing it on to their descendants as an inheritance virtually inseparable from their ethnic identity.

In addition to provoking religious prejudice, the post-Famine immigrants aroused antagonism by their very numbers. So many "strangers" could not be readily absorbed in a country which as yet had no experience in dealing with newcomers on a massive scale. Disturbed in the orderly growth of a homogenous society, few Americas were prepared to welcome the refugees or aid their adjustment here. The Irish were condemned to social ostracism by their peculiarities of speech and manners, their lack of education and urban sophistication. They were relegated to the most menial employment and the most wretched dwellings. Frustration, squalor, and poverty bred resentment, vice, and crime. As "pioneers of the American ghetto," the Irish constituted New York's"dangerous class," and were held responsible for all of the city's violence and disorder. Editorial writers denounced them, cartoonists caricatured them, comedians lampooned them, and self-proclaimed "patriots" insisted that an Irishman's first loyalty would always be to the Pope or to some Hibernian revolutionary movement.

Inexperienced as they might be as city dwellers, the Irish arrived in America with a far greater knowledge of practical politics than most immigrants. Long accustomed to organizing secret societies and revolutionary brotherhoods to further their goals, an expanded franchise in Ireland had given recent generations an awareness of how bloc voting, disciplined organization, and pressure tactics might be used to best advantage in the basically similar political frameworks of Britain and the United States. They quickly grasped the notion that political action offered an opportunity to relieve their social and economic grievances in their new country.

Tammany Hall, the headquarters of New York's Democratic Party, readily accepted these promising recruits, and pushed hard for the removal of property qualifications that prevented many poor Irish from voting, as well as for drastic reduction of naturalization restrictions. From the late 1820's on, Tammany extended its protection and assistance to the Irish and they reciprocated with their votes. When the multitude of Famine refugees arrived twenty years later, their identity was preordained: they were to be Irish-Catholic Democrats.

By the eve of the Civil War, one in every four New Yorkers was of Irish birth. Although still forming the bulk of the heavy labor force, they had begun to fill up the police and the lower ranks of the civil service. Their eager willingness to fight for their adopted country in 1861 would bring them a new degree of acceptance and respectability. New York City contributed seventeen regiments of volunteers, many of them heavily Irish, some of them, like the "Fighting Sixty-Ninth," entirely composed of "sons of Erin." Though their Catholicism still subjected them to slights and snubs, the Irish had established their commitment to the United States once and for all in the Civil War, where they forged bonds of comradeship with their fellow Americans that endured into the postwar years. It was not too difficult for the Irish to be integrated into American life once they gained this basic acceptance. Even when "fresh off the boat," they spoke English, were well-acquainted with Anglo-

Saxon laws, attitudes, and customs, and could readily find their way about in their new environment. Their potential for rapid assimilation was far higher than that of most immigrants, and by the time the "huddled masses" from Southern and Eastern Europe began reaching these shores in the 1880's and 1890's, the Irish had mastered the art of living well in America.

The great vehicle of Irish success in America, and their prime contribution to their adopted country, was their skill in urban politics. After the fall of "Boss" Tweed--whose bounty they had shared, but whom they also helped to overthrow--the Irish captured city hall and dominated it for more than half a century. It was said of "Honest John" Kelly, who controlled New York politics from 1872 to 1886, that "he found Tammany a horde and left it an army." He organized the sprawling party network and created the orderly apparatus upon which his successors' authority rested. The structure of every major party organization in every city in the United States is still essentially patterned after Kelly's Tammany Hall. "Honest John," the largely self-taught son of a grocer from County Tyrone, established a paternalistic system. Its leaders, who had fought their way up, from the city's masses, "spoke the language of the poor," and their granting of favors in return for votes was more acceptable to most immigrants than the "impersonal charity" offered by Tammany's opponents. Kelly was able to win elections by dispensing favors to the voters and party workers, thereby gaining more public offices to gain more favors. This self-perpetuating system was, it has been noted by political scientists, "a smaller and more intimate precursor of the New Deal." And Franklin D. Roosevelt, the creator of the New Deal, was, of course a New York politician, whose first political steps were taken under the patronage of Tammany.

Under Kelly and his heirs, Richard Croker (1886-1901) and Charles F.

Murphy (1901-1924), New York was what an eminent sociologist has called "the first great city in history to be ruled by men of the people, not as an isolated phenomenon...but as a persisting, established pattern." The Irish role in American politics, another commentator maintains, was "creative, not imitative." The system they established in New York (and which was duplicated in many other cities) drew upon their experience in their homeland, with its flexible political proprieties and tradition of informal "popular" government undercutting the formal regime. They had learned, too, from Daniel O'Connell, the tremendous potentials of an organized and orchestrated political mass movement. Men like Kelly and Murphy were far from the "genial Irishman" of American folklore. They were firm, efficient administrators of a political apparatus that aided "the people." These "bosses" thought of themselves not as tyrants, but as expediters, as imposers of order upon the complexities of modern urban bureaucracy.

The turn of the century was, in a sense, a golden age, for Irish-Americans. The flow of immigration, though diminished by improved conditions in Ireland, was still substantial. New arrivals found their kinsfolk well-established--Americans now, some of them, for two or three generations. While pockets of poverty existed, especially in socially conservative Boston, and in the mill towns of New England, the Irish, in general, were prospering and upwardly mobile. They had their millionaires--Grace, Cudahy, Mackay, Ryan--and their military heroes, their congressmen and public officials. They had produced inventors (of everything from Humphrey O'Sullivan's rubber heel to John Holland's submarine), surgeons, and educators. The greatest American architect--Louis Sullivan--was an immigrant's son; the outstanding American sculptor--Augustus St. Gaudens--was a Dubliner by birth, as was America's most popular composer--

Victor Herbert. The entrepreneur of the motor car, Henry Ford, and the oracle of geopolitics, Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, were both only a generation removed from Ireland. Even the fashionable novelist, Henry James (though he did not care to emphasize it) was the grandson of an Irish immigrant. On a lower level of prestige, if not of popularity, the Irish dominated the sporting and entertainment fields. And among the Irish striving to establish their positions in society were the fathers of Eugene O'Neill, Scott Fitzgerald, and John O'Hara, writers who could never quite shake off their "Irishness."

New York, in particular, had an Irish atmosphere, when its thriving "Hibernian" neighborhoods scattered throughout the city, its sports clubs and cultural societies, its flourishing "county" associations, which provided social activities and fraternal assistance to Irishmen from the same region of the home country. The gigantic parade and the elaborate festivities on March 17, the incessant rallies to support this or that Irish cause, the enthusiastic receptions given to visiting luminaries from Ireland--all testified to the pervasive presence of the Celt. So, too, did the Gothic splendor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and the more modest churches, convents, schools, orphanages, and hospitals in every quarter of the metropolis, for the great institutional framework of the Catholic Church in New York (as, indeed, throughout the country) was largely the work of Irish hierarchy, clergy, and laity. To the Irish, the social, charitable, and educational organizations of the Church were as much a part of their identity and sense of community as the groups that bore an ethnic label.

By the late 1920's, this "golden age" had ended. Both the numbers and the self-awareness of the New York Irish were steadily diminishing. The fall in Irish immigration after the First World War and the great wave of Italian and

East European Jewish immigration at the turn of the century, as well as the subsequent "internal immigration" of Southern Blacks and Puerto Ricans, reduced the Irish to a relative minority by mid-century. Furthermore, the American Irish were losing their identity. The creation of the Irish Free State in 1922 represented for many of them the end of a "frustrated nationalism" that had served to feed their Irishness. A rising standard of living, greater social acceptance, increased occupational and geographical mobility, all tended to break up traditional Irish neighborhoods, employment monopolies (e.g., the police), and organizations, More and more descendants of immigrants ceased to think of themselves as "Irish" or to identify with any particular group. They sank into the melting pot.

It may be that the recent renewal of ethnic awareness among Irish-Americans, deriving in part from the Ulster situation and in part from the younger generation's desire to share in the neo-ethnicity of the past decade, may stimulate a renewed "Irishness." Until recently the exigencies of the urban crisis had driven most of the American Irish into suburban security. Yet if they would renew their involvement in the metropolis, there is much the Irish could offer, through collective historical wisdom. For, no matter how grim the prospects or how agonizing the dilemmas, the Irish have seen it all before- and they have seen it in New York.

Questions for Discussion and Analysis

1. When did the Irish first come to America? Why were more of these early settlers members of the Protestant, rather than the Catholic, faith?
2. Explain why the Irish in America during the Revolution were such loyal supporters of the Revolutionary cause.
3. What conditions in Ireland and what events in America and Europe encouraged Irish men, women, and children to come to America between 1820 and 1840? How many came? Where did they settle?
4. What events in Ireland brought large masses of Irish immigrants to America between 1840 and 1860? How many came? The Irish were a country folk. Why did they settle in the cities? What kind of work did they do? What percentage of the population in New York City in 1860 were Irish?
5. When the Irish first came to America before the Revolution, they were accepted in friendly fashion. What changed the attitude of Americans toward the Irish immigrants who came to America between 1820 and 1860? Why did many Irish describe themselves as Scotch-Irish?
6. What caused the Irish in those days to be regarded as a dangerous class? They were considered to be "pioneers of the American ghetto." What does this mean?
7. What qualities, what talents, and what events made it possible for the Irish to become more easily assimilated into American life? Discuss the influence and accomplishments of the three Irish political leaders--"Honest John" Kelly, Richard Croker, and Charles F. Murphy--who controlled New York politics from 1872 to 1924.
8. What contributions did the Irish make to American life. What caused them to lose some of their power and influence in New York City? What elements

in New York City today testify to the presence of the Irish in the City's history.

DESCRIPTION OF WOODSIDE

The following is a summary description of Woodside which Mr. Sottosanti prepared for his students. The various projects in which the students engaged provided the detail to support or modify the conclusions stated in this report.

In 1826, a man named John Andrew Kelly from Charleston purchased land at the spot where now stands St. Sebastian's Church and he began constructing Woodside. He took the name from the forests that surrounded the area.

Woodside has a rich history, filled with tales of various estates and the rich who owned them. It has many colorful aspects, including the fact that it was once known as "Suicide's Paradise" because of several suicides committed in the dark loneliness of the foreboding woods.

Woodside began to grow in the 1860's with the addition of two railroad lines into the community. Still, Woodside maintained its farms and fields well into the twentieth century. This diversity accounts for the range of activity and the spatial differences which can now be observed.

The population of Woodside stood at about 30,000 in 1970, with as much as 96.7% of it white. This showed a slight decrease since the 1960 census.

Woodside's ethnic population is still fairly solidly comprised of Irish people, although there are many Italians and Germans in the community. A question to consider: Is Woodside's Irish image changing? The New York Times, on one hand, has called Woodside a "paragon of stability" in regard to its Irish population. On the other hand, The Daily News has printed a couple of articles announcing the invasion of Hispanics and others into the community.

Statistics on ethnic groups in Woodside were not available, but I should say that within the community, the Irish image still remains, and strongly. Yet, when one walks through the commercial districts, it is hard to find much evidence of this. The conclusion one arrives at is that Woodside is a gradually changing community, certainly in direct contrast to neighborhoods such as Jackson Heights, which has changed much over such a short period of time. As Woodside's substantial population of Irish senior citizens decreases through death, one guesses that it will be replaced by a Hispanic population, which is already making some minor inroads.

The Irish image will never completely fade, though. St. Sebastian's Church, a strong unifying force in Woodside, has always been headed by Irish pastors with reputations for outspokenness and ethnic pride. They will no doubt keep coming and make their presences known.

Certainly, the Irish bars in the neighborhood will last; now, they proliferate: Donovan's, Dillon's, Shelley's and Finnegan's, among several others, will maintain the Irish image. And all-out, grand events such as Woodside's own St. Patrick's Day Parade will also strengthen and enhance the image.

The Woodside look is definitely a working class one. When one walks the streets of Woodside, one notices the dinginess that comes with age, but not griminess. One notices homes, that while old and in need of repair and painting, are not uncomfortable or unpleasant to look at. And Woodside's busiest intersection, while backed up with traffic at various times, also gives a sense of a hard-working-class community.

The working class thrives in Woodside, where the average income is $12,000 per year, and where the working class men pay a working class rent or mortgage payment. Many but perhaps not most of Woodside's adults were graduated from high school.

What Woodside has going for it is a strong sense of community. This is reflected in such community services as: The Woodside Civic Association, which does a lot of work concerning such events as the Bicentennial Celebration and plans for the upkeep of the community; The Senior Citizens Center, which services Woodside's and neighboring communities' elderly; and a Youth Center, sponsored by the Church, which includes such diverse elements as a swimming pool, a cadet brigade, and a volunteer to help "the handicapped committee." These are but some of the organizations which give Woodside its strength and unity.

Woodside has been called the transportation hub of Queens, mainly because it is a crossroads for the Long Island Railroad and the IRT and IND train lines. These, plus the major highways and roads passing through it (the Brooklyn-Queens and Long Island Expressways, Queens Boulevard, Northern Boulevard), provide easy transportation into and out of the community. As for transportation within the community, it is amply serviced by several bus routes, although some small sections are isolated.

Housing in Woodside is comprised of a large number of private homes and apartment houses. One major recent addition was the Big 6 Towers, which constitute an enormous complex of dwellings. Apartment houses and private homes are found side by side. About 30% of Woodside land is covered by cemeteries. The population is in the high-to-medium density range.

The neighborhood has a couple of commercial districts, those on Roosevelt Avenue and Queens Boulevard. However, it is often that a Woodside resident must travel a long distance to get to these two spots and at times must travel outside the community to get what he needs.

Heavy and light industry areas of Woodside border the cemeteries. Most of these are trucking firms delivering heavy goods. Big businesses are few, but among these are several major companies, such as Bulova Watch and G. Schirmer Music Publishing Company.

Woodside's future is predictable only to a certain degree. Ethnically, its Irish image will probably gradually fade. Structurally, tentative plans for the development of new transportation have been made. But one thing is sure, Woodside is a community with varied elements and with much potential.

To the Students

Read this description of Woodside and be prepared to discuss the following:

1. What information and what details would you add to this account?
2. Is this an accurate summary description of the Woodside community?
3. What are your views concerning the future of Woodside? Do you think that its Irish population will remain?
4. In what ways is the Woodside community similar to or different from other communities in New York City that you know?
5. See whether you can find out how the Irish first came to live in Woodside and how Saint Sebastian's came to be built.

THE PEOPLE OF WOODSIDE

Lesson: "What Makes the Irish Irish?"

Goal: To have students understand the variables that go into the definition of the term "ethnic group."

Motivation: Stereotyping students' ethnic groups

1. If they so desire, ask students to state their ethnic groups.
2. What are some of the pictures unwise people conjure up when they think of an Italian? a Jew? a Chinaman? a Black?
3. What is the term used for having predisposed ideas of how people act before knowing them? (prejudice, stereotyping)
4. Is stereotyping valid? What harm can be caused by stereotyping?

Procedure: Questions

1. Since we are studying the Irish in Woodside, let's talk about them. What are the Irish stereotypes? (Drunks, large families, tough cops, etc.)
2. Attack the Irish stereotypes through questioning.
3. Since these stereotypical ideas don't hold water, how does one define an Irish person? (Country of origin - religion - race)
4. Are these standards always true? (Most of the time, but not always)
5. What is the term used to describe a group of people such as the Irish, or the Italians, or the Puerto Ricans? (Ethnic group)
6. How can we define the term "Ethnic group"? (By factors such as race, religion and country of origin.)
7. Let us compose a definition of "Ethnic group."

The forms below were prepared to assist students in conducting interviews, gathering, summarizing, and interpreting information.

I. INTERVIEW GUIDANCE SHEET

Directions: Interview a person who has lived in Woodside for a long time. Ask him/her the following questions. You are expected to come up with some probing questions of your own. Either tape-record the interview or take notes.

1. How long have you lived in Woodside?
2. What are your earliest memories of it?
3. Are there any important places now that you can remember being built or developed? What did they replace?
4. Have the people of Woodside changed?
5. What would you have wanted to keep of the old Woodside?
6. What are you happy to have in today's Woodside?

Write up the information you've gained.

II. ON THE STREET AND IN THE HOME INTERVIEW/SURVEY

Dear Interviewee: We are studying the community of Woodside. Would you be so kind as to take a few seconds and fill out the following form?

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO IGNORE ANY QUESTION YOU WISH

1. Where do you live? (Circle one)

   Woodside   Neighboring community   New York City   New York State
   Out of New York State   Out of the U.S.

2. How long have you lived in Woodside? (Circle one if applicable)

   Less than 1 year   1 to 5 years   5 to 15 years   15 to 25 years
   25 years or more

3. Of what nationality are you? (Circle one)

American Black   Chinese   German   Irish   Italian   Jewish
Polish   Slavic   Hispanic   Other (please specify)

4. How old are you?

5. What do you do for a living?

Thank you very much for cooperating with us.

The students of________________

III. "CONFIRMING/CONTRADICTING"

Directions: After you have read a book of fiction or biography dealing with the immigrant experience of an Irish person, conduct a personal interview with an Irish person living in Woodside who either has gone through the experience of emigrating to this country or who is the child or grandchild of parents who emigrated here. Tape-record it or take notes. Ask questions to determine that what you've read, whether fiction or non-fiction, has at least been part of the experience of the person you're interviewing.

Write a report on what you've learned. Does your interview confirm or contradict what you've read?

IV. DISCOVERING THE IRISH EXPERIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH LITERATURE

Directions: Read completely one of the following books, and compose an essay on the Irish experience in America based on what you've read.

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V. "WHAT DO THE SIGNS SAY"

Directions: Tour the commercial and business areas of Woodside. Note any names that you see on signs which reveal a nationality.

FOOD (supermarkets, grocery stores, etc.)

CLOTHING (department stores, private shops)

RESTAURANTS

SERVICES (real estate, gas stations, hair stylists, etc.)

HOUSEHOLD/PERSONAL (hardware, pharmacies, florists, jewelers, etc.)

BARS/CLUBS

OTHER

Which nationalities are represented most often?

VI. "WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OF WOODSIDE?"

Directions: From what you have observed, read, researched and investigated, we can see that we've come into contact with people from several nationality groups. Survey your personal lists and papers, and enter the results below.

	BLACK	CHINESE	GERMAN	HISPANIC	IRISH	ITALIAN	JEWISH	POLISH	SLAVIC	OTHER	
On the street interviews											
The community newspaper											
a) articles on groups											
b) articles on individuals											
Sign hunting											
Guest speakers											
Personal interviews											

Answer the following questions:

1. Which is the group which is most heavily represented?
2. What are the major nationalities of Woodsiders?

Write below any other observations you have made.

VII. WOODSIDE COMMUNITY SERVICES GUIDANCE SHEET

Information to get about selected organizations:

Name of service

When founded

Goals of service

Its membership (those served)

Its staff

Observations/comments:

The following are the types of service organizations you should investigate:

1. Those that provide religious and educational experience
2. Those that help the sick, the troubled, the needy, the aged, etc.
3. Those that provide vocational guidance, occupational training, and job placement
4. Those that provide recreational, social, and cultural activities such as gym facilities, clubs, outings, athletic games, music, dance, dramatics, camps, etc.
5. Those that maintain the customs and values of the ethnic group.

VIII. HOUSING

Housing in Woodside is a veritable mulligan stew that includes:

1. Yellow-brick row housing along Skillman Ave.
2. Low-rent railroad flats under the elevated
3. Six story apartment buildings
4. Numerous one and two-family houses
5. A cluster of four high-rise apartment buildings
6. Three co-ops and a rental job that overlook the rest of the community

Questions

1. Is this an accurate description of housing in Woodside?
2. What conclusions can you draw about the community and its people from this description of housing in Woodside?

Study the three tables below concerning housing in Woodside. What conclusions can you draw about the types of dwellings people in Woodside live in from the information given you? How does Woodside measure up in comparison with housing in other parts of Queens? What does this information tell you about the people in Woodside?

A. AGE OF HOUSING STRUCTURES: WOODSIDE VS. QUEENS

Year structure built	Woodside	% of all units	Queens	% of all units
1969-3/1970	309	2.56%	5818	0.8%
1965 - 1968	489	4.00	30795	4.4
1960 - 1964	2443	3.00	74574	10.6
1950 - 1959	883	7.3	137363	19.5
1940 - 1949	1022	8.5	108874	15.5
1939 or before	6926	57.4	345730	4.9
Total number of units	12072		703154	

B. RENT IN WOODSIDE *

Census Tract	Median rent per month	Average rent per month
245	$176	$181
247	116	121
249	114	125
251	96	108
255	123	124
257	109	116
259	111	123
261	83	91
263	106	116
293	123	127
Queens Borough	123	131

* from 1970 Census

C. SIZE OF HOUSING UNITS: WOODSIDE VS. QUEENS*

Number of rooms	Woodside total	% of all units	Queens Total	% of all units
One	341	2.77%	13846	1.95%
Two	1164	9.54	39719	5.62
Three	3963	32.48	171299	24.18
Four	3046	24.96	162156	22.88
Five	2006	16.44	120995	17.07
Six	1322	10.83	127482	17.99
Seven	249	2.04	40122	5.66
Eight	68	0.55	15989	2.25
Over nine	41	0.33	11463	1.61
	12200		708419	

* from 1970 Census

VIII. Read the community evaluation below. Do you agree with the conclusions of the writer? In what respects is he right? In what respects is he wrong? What recommendations would you make to improve Woodside and to keep it from deteriorating? Join with a committee of your classmates to draw up a program of community improvement and renewal. List your recommendations in an order of importance. What would you do first? What next?

THE PROBLEMS AND GOALS OF WOODSIDE

The working class, residential/industrial neighborhood that is Woodside is in need of help and fortunately, it's getting it. It wouldn't be fair to call Woodside a decaying community, but it is aging fast. The Winwood Civic Association has applied for government grants to help beautify the area, in particular its business center at 61 Street and Roosevelt Avenue. Construction is also about to begin on the new Woodside Plaza in the heart of its business district, thanks to the efforts of concerned civic leaders.

Concerned civic leaders do not tend to come in large numbers, and so the residents' apathy is a serious problem. I've heard of reports of civic meetings at which fewer than ten people attend. This problem is being confronted by having businesses in the neighborhood contribute to and help popularize the efforts of the community leaders. This has met with some success.

Ethnically, Woodside remains fairly stable in its Irish/German/Italian composition. As Hispanics continue to move along Roosevelt Avenue from Corona through Elmhurst and Jackson Heights toward Woodside, this stability should be upset within the next two years. However, if Woodside follows its neighboring communities in their easy acceptance of Hispanics and their businesses, there should be no major problems in this area.

Woodside needs attention from city politicians. Though not on the precipice of destruction, it does edge closer to disaster as its streets and sidewalks crumble and its housing deteriorates. Community goals, such as a "Save Woodside" campaign, though possibly alarmist, should be initiated. A neighborhood which has offered as much and which offers still more should not be ignored.

UNIT: THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK CITY (AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY) AS REFLECTED IN STORIES, BIOGRAPHIES, HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND ARTICLES.

The experience of the immigrants who came to America were in many ways similar. The earliest immigrants came to escape religious persecution and a few to seek adventure. Later, others came to find work and make a living, to escape the hardhsips in the countries they came from. Every immigrant group that came to America--including the American Indians who were here when the first settlers arrived and the Blacks who were brought here as slaves, many of whom migrated from South to North--suffered severe hardships. But America being the land it is, opportunities were available for education, for work, for success. Many of the descendants of immigrants achieved wealth and prominence in the growing and expanding power of America's industrial, democratic world.

The selections below tell the story in part. They deal with three themes: 1) Why peoples came to this country; 2) The world of the immigrant in America; and 3) Conflicts and prejudices encountered by the immigrant in America.

The selections are arranged by ethnic groups in the following order: Irish, Italian, Jewish, Chinese, Black, Puerto Rican. Questions for discussion and suggestions for further study and investigation follow each group of selections.

THE IRISH EXPERIENCE

1. From The Irish in America, by James B. Johnson.

Ireland, indeed, was having a time of troubles along with famines. There were low wages, high rents, disease, unemployment. The British government began to look on emigration as one answer to the problems.

It should be mentioned that some Irishmen wanted to leave because they were unhappy with British rule. Many hated paying taxes to a Protestant Church, since the majority of Irishmen were Roman Catholic... In the period from 1845 to 1850, however, the famine was the main reason people left Ireland to go to America.

As the potato famine worsened, the situation of the Irish peasant became more miserable. A Catholic priest told of calling on a man whose mother had been dead for two days. The man was too weak to do anything about it....In one shack, the people were boiling seaweed for their meal. The starving time had arrived in Ireland.

Passage to America was booked in every possible way. In the spring and early summer of 1847, the roads to the coast were alive with activity. People fled, degraded and downtrodden.

2. From The American Irish, by William Shannon.

Irish country life was not unrelievedly drab and hard; the races, the visits to the pub, the outdoor sports, the country dances and other entertainments did much to soften the rigors of existence. But they could not suffice in the sick, tormented society of nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland. The young, spared to life by the mysterious drop in infant mortality, pressed upon their elders. Young men in their twenties saw ahead bleak years of waiting for a farm of their own, and were plagued by frustration and fears of unfulfillment. The girls, seeing marriage and motherhood delayed by impersonal economic considerations and the dreary calculations of the matchmaker, feared that their best years would slip by, empty and barren. Since parents wanted to keep the family and land system on an even keel, they usually married off their daughters strictly in order of age. Irish folklore is full of sad stories of the pretty young girls who could not marry until their plainfaced older sister was wed. Many an Irish girl decided she would rather join relatives in an overcrowded tenement in Chicago or wash dishes for three dollars a week in "cold roast Boston" than live out her life in an unequal race with those old gypsy men, time and fate. ("I had to go," the mother said to her son; "there was nothing for me in the old country.") Older men and women, squeezed or displaced altogether by the exactions of the landlord or by land consolidations, decided in middle life it was not, after all, too late for them to take the great gamble. And, at times of famine, whole families from infants to grandparents in desperation made the journey.

So it was that in their various ways they decided to leave. Their deep feelings about the familiar village and the gently sloping fields were overborne by the fact of failure and the fear of further defeat. Ireland was beautiful and damned. There was no life for them there. They had to go.

3. From "An Irish Integrity," by William Alfred. (This is a passage from a portrait of the author's great-grandmother.)

Anna Maria Gavin Egan was born in Castlebar, Mayo, sometime between

1845 and 1850. She never knew her true age... She was born sickly; and her mother separated her from her twin brother and sent her as an infant to the seashore, where her grandmother raised her until she "grew into her strength." One of her brothers became a Fenian (a member of a secret organization whose aim was to overthrow British rule in Ireland) and was forced to emigrate to the states. After his emigration, it was impossible to make a go of the small bakeshop her mother ran. British soldiers harried (attacked) the shop and dwelling with nuisance raids, bayoneting the flour bags and even the featherbeds in mock searches for the absent brother. In 1866 or 1867, she and her mother made the "eight weeks' voyage in a sailing vessel" which brought her to New York...

Of her first years here, she never tired of speaking. She and her mother landed at Castle Garden and walked up Broadway to City Hall, with bundles of clothes and pots and featherbeds in their arms. The singing of the then exposed telegraph wires frightened them as did the bustle of the people in the streets. They lost their fear when they met an Irish policeman who directed them to a rooming house on Baxter Street...

Her training as a "manty-maker" (dressmaker) gave her an advantage over other girls of her age. She got a job fast...

The city house she rented for eighteen dollars a month was an abandoned mansion... The Protestants, for that was what she called native born Americans, moved out as the immigrants moved in. The first wave of immigrants must have been German and Scandinavian... Then from the backyard tenements... the Irish began to move in. They were succeeded by the Italians...

Her house was a narrow brownstone, two windows to every floor...

A stationery store had nibbled into the basement of the brownstone on the corner of Clinton Street... It was run by the Wechslers, the only Jews in the neighborhood. They were beloved by Irish and Italians alike, because of their kindness to children, and because they had the only phone on the block, and would walk the block's length to call a person to it.

4. From "Through Queens with Pad and Pencil" by Rowland Barber. (T.V. Guide, August 30, 1975)

The focal point of the Rawald's involvement is St. Sebastian's Church. St. Sebastian's is a large parish (5000 families), and its aegis (auspices) shelters a myriad of activities. Swimming, baseball and basketball leagues. The Golden Gloves. Drama club, teen club, the Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Brigade. Preschool classes and Marriage Encounter Weekends. Bazaars and Bingo. Pride and joy of the parish is the huge Parish Center, with its gym, Olympic-size pool, and meeting rooms.

"We all pitched in to build the Center," says Tillie Rawald, "and now we all pitch in to run it. And it's paid off. We always know where our kids are."

Tillie bowls on Tuesday nights, "helps run the bingo for the Church" once a month, is a Library Mother, and in between serves on "on all kinds of committees for this, that, the other thing."

Ricky, her oldest son, just 22, is married and already owns his own business, a German-Italian delicatessen. He bowls with his father in the Catholic War Veterans Post League. Regina, 17, is busy this summer at the Center, where she is a lifeguard and a secretary, and will enter

Hunter College in the fall. Ron, 15, is working in his brother's store during his vacation. Robert, 14 in August, is having a summer of baseball--while earning extra money making deliveries for the neighborhood Avon lady.

5. From Beyond the Melting Pot, by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan.

Let it be said that the Irish gave style to life in the slums:

Boys and girls together, me and Mamie Rorke,
Tripped the light fantastic on the sidewalks of New York.

They became the playboys of this new Western World. "None Can Love Like an Irishman" was a favorite song of Lincoln's day. By the turn of the century it had become equally clear that none could run like them, nor fight like them, nor drink as much, nor sing as well. When it came to diving off the Brooklyn Bridge or winning pennants for the Giants, it took an Irishman. And who could write such bittersweet songs as Victor Herbert? Or enjoy life like "Diamond Jim" Brady? All was "bliss and blarney."

Much was forgiven them. Their failures, as they themselves said of their principal one, were "A good man's weakness." A certain compassion pervaded even their wrongdoing. Jimmy Walker was nothing so much as P.T. Barnum in a speakeasy: predatory, not evil. At their best such Irish had a genius for getting through to the people: no one in the history of New York has ever been able to explain state government to the voters in the way Al Smith did. Nor have they ever quite forgotten the compliment he paid their intelligence.

By degress the Irish style of the gaslight era became less and less Irish, more and more the style of the American city. Al Smith came close to being for the people of the Lower East Side of America what Lincoln had been for the Frontier. When the comic strips began, the principal urban characters--Maggie and Jiggs, Moon Mullin, Dick Tracy-- were Irish. When the movies began to fashion a composite picture of the American people, the New York Irishman was projected to the very center of the national image.

For whatever reason, perhaps because of the influence of New York Jews in the film industry, when Hollywood undertook to synthesize the Christian religion, they found it most easy to do in the person of an Irish priest: Pat O'Brien as Father Duffy in the trenches. When it came to portraying the tough American, up from the streets, the image was repeatedly that of an Irishman. James Cagney (a New Yorker) was the quintessential figure: fists cocked, chin out, back straight, bouncing along on his heels. But also doomed: at the end of the movie he was usually dead.

6. From "Conditions in the Immigrant Slum," by Carl Wittke in A Gathering of Ghetto Writers, edited by Wayne Miller.

The Irish laborer in the middle nineteenth century found himself in difficulties because of shameless exploitation and bad working conditions, and because of the resentment harbored against him by native Americans who feared his competition, although apparently few Americans had any wish to do the heavy, dirty, unskilled labor that fell to the lot of the Irishman with his pick and shovel. Newspapers friendly to the Irish immigrant warned him to stay away from the canal and railroad construction projects, for "these railroads have been the ruin of thousands of our poor people" and their workers are treated "like slaves" by railroad contractors. Wages were low, usually $1 a day but often less; they were not clearly fixed and were paid partly in whiskey and "store pay" or merchandise, sold at high prices. Friends of the Irish urged them to form protective associations, with objectives somewhat like the trade unions, in order to stop competition, rivalries and fights between warring gangs which drove wages down in their competition for available jobs. Above all, the Irish were advised to go to the country to work on farms or squat upon government land in the West, to "do anything, in fact, in preference to railroading."

7. From "Through Queens with Pad and Pencil," by Rowland Barber, (T.V. Guide, August 30, 1975)

I met Mr. Rawald on my next visit to Woodside. Paul is a slight, wiry, dark-haired man with a deep voice, whose speech is punctuated by a soft, nervous giggle. It's like a running apology- but he has nothing to be apologetic about. He will soon be 48, hopes to retire when he's 55, after 35 years with the post office. He has worked hard to support his family, at the stamp window, as station manager, and moonlighting evenings, weekends and on vacation time; and he and Tillie have raised an exemplary family. The work ethic is supreme among the Rawalds, and nobody- from little Robert on up- complains about it, and nobody seems to have any trouble "getting his head together."

Rawald joined the Navy at the end of World War II. "Spent the whole hitch hanging over the side of a destroyer escort, seasick. When I got out I looked for a job in a print shop--I went to the New York School of Printing in Manhattan, although I grew up out here in Astoria. But it was the old story. Couldn't get in the union. So I answered an ad for temporary post-office clerk-and that's been my career. Tillie and I met five years later at a dance in Richmond Hill. Whitey Ford had given me a couple of free tickets, but I didn't have a date. I got to talking to this cute girl from Ozone Park, Tillie Ambrosio, and she didn't have a date either. We danced - and that was it."

Questions

Selection

1. What are the reasons given in selections one and two for Irish emigration to America?
2. What were the pleasures of Irish country life as listed in selection two? Why were these not enough to keep the Irish people in Ireland? What did the young girls hope to find in America?
3. Why did Anna Maria come to America? What made it possible for her to get a job right away? Why were the Wechslers so popular in their neighborhood? What can you tell about the author's feelings toward Anna Maria?
4. What services did St. Sebastian's offer the people of the Parish? Why was the Center so popular? What evidence is there that the Rawald family was a happy one? What values were important in their lives?
5. What do you learn of the character of the Irish people from the selection? What various activities did the Irish of New York City engage in? Who were the popular and successful people among the Irish? Why?
6. Selection 6 describes how the Irish worker was exploited. What kind of work did the Irish laborer do? Why did he put up with the bad working conditions? What efforts were made to help him? How do you explain that the Irish who were farmers came to be city dwellers?

7. Mr. Rawald is a typical Irish worker. What do you learn of his background, the kind of work he did, and his values? Would you call him a successful man? Give your reasons for your view.

Suggested Activities

1. Select a famous Irishman in any field--politics, sports, the arts, business. Prepare a report on his or her life and achievements to present in class. (Later, all reports can be combined into a class anthology.)
2. Make a study of an Irish church--its history and the programs it offers to the people in its parish. Report your findings, praising and/or criticizing its activities. (Consider what in your view should be the functions of a church.)
3. Make a study of the process by which the Irish came to be so much a part of American life. What elements in the character of the Irish and the ideals of America made it possible for the Irish to become easily assimilated? You may present the results of your study in an essay, a chart, a poster, a dramatization, or in any other form.
4. Make a study of the part religion plays in Irish life. What religious activities are to be found in a church like St. Sebastian's? Report your findings to your class.

THE ITALIAN EXPERIENCE

1. From: Willard Price: "What I Learned by Traveling from Naples to New York in the Steerage."

I said to a man who had been expressing the universal disgust for the toiler's lot in Sicily. "So you say now; but after a few years of hard work in America you'll get lonesome and homesick and you will be returning to sunny Italy."

"No, Signore!" he expostulated. "I'll never go back to that accursed place. Italy is a beautiful country for kings and tourists, but a bad hole for a man who must earn his own living. The wages are next to nothing, while the cost of living is not very much lower than it is in America. I can live in New York almost as cheaply as in Naples and make three times as much money. Then,too, we have regular hours in America. We stop at the toot of a whistle. In Italy, when we are in the middle of a job when quitting time comes, we have to continue working until the job is finished. In America we are paid every week or every two weeks, regularly. In Italy we are paid whenever it suits our employer's convenience--perhaps not for months at a time. Italy is old,careless, lazy. But America--" He brought out the name with such enthusiasm and such a comprehensive gesture of approval that he found it quite unnecessary to complete the sentence with mere words.

2. From: Leonard Covello: The Heart Is the Teacher.

In the autumn of 1896, we arrived in America.

As a boy of nine, the arduous trip in an old freighter did not matter very much to me or to my younger brothers. A child adapts to everything. It was the older people who suffered, those uprooted human beings who faced the shores of an unknown land with quaking hearts.

My mother had never been further from Avigliano than the chapel just a few kilometers outside the town, where we went on the feast days of La Madonna del Carmine. Suddenly she was forced to make a long and painful trip from Avigliano to Naples, through interminable mountain tunnels where choking black smoke and soot poured into the railroad carriages. Then twenty days across four thousand miles of ocean to New York

When the sea threatened to engulf us, she did not scream and carry on like the rest, but held us close with fear and torment locked in her breast--voiceless,inarticulate. And when finally we saw the towering buildings and rode the screeching elevated train and saw the long, unending streets of a metropolis that could easily swallow a thousand Aviglianese towns, she accepted it all with the mute resignation of "La volonta di Dio," while her heart longed for familiar scenes and the faces of loved ones and the security of a life she had forever left behind.

We spent two days at Ellis Island before my father was aware of our arrival. Two days and two nights we waited at this dreary place which for the immigrant was the entrance to America. Two days and two nights we waited, eating the food that was given us, sleeping on hard benches, while my mother hardly closed her eyes for fear of losing us in the confusion. Once during a physical examination men and boys were separated for a short time from the women. My mother was frantic as the guard led me and my two younger brothers away. When we ran back to her, she clutched us convulsively. Still in her eyes there was the disbelieving look of a mother who never expected to see her children again.

3. From: Antonio Mangano: "The Associated Life of the Italians in New York City."

Prior to the formation of the present Italian Kingdom, the country was divided into numerous dukedoms and principalities among which there was constant rivalry and bitter feeling, if not open warfare. As a natural consequence, the people not only have lacked sympathy for those outside of their particular principality or dukedom, but even have nursed a strong feeling of hostility toward them. Added to this, there is the spirit which prevails today in many parts of Italy-- a clearly marked rivalry between two towns or two cities within the same province. Doubtless such contention has its good effect in inducing rival towns to put forth every effort for their improvement; but on the other hand, division and dissension are unconsciously fostered under the guise of a false patriotism.

The New York colony is composed of persons coming from nearly every nook and corner of the old peninsula. It is by no means strange, then, that they should bring with them local prejudices and narrow sympathies; it is not to be wondered that they feel that their highest duty consists in being loyal to the handful who come from their immediate section and in manifesting opposition toward those who come from other localities. Thus it comes to pass that while a man may be known as an Italian, he is far better known as a Napoletano, Calabrese, Veneziano, Abbruzese, or Siciliano. This means that the Italian colony is divided into almost as many groups as there are sections of Italy represented.

4. From: "The Odyssey of a Wop," by John Fante.

I enter the parochial school with an awful fear that I will be called Wop... I match my own (last name) against such typically Italian names as Bianci, Borello, Pacelli--the names of other students. I am pleasantly relieved by the comparison. After all, I think, people will say I am French. Doesn't my name sound French? So thereafter, when people ask my nationality, I tell them I am French. A few boys begin calling me Frenchy. I like that. I feel fine.

I avoid Italian boys and girls who try to be friendly. I thank God for my light skin and hair...At the lunch hour I huddle over my lunch pail, for my mother doesn't wrap my sandwiches in wax paper, and she makes them too large, and the lettuce leaves protrude. Worse, the bread is homemade; not bakery bread, not "American" bread. I make a great fuss because I can't have mayonnaise and other American things.

5. From Jacob Riis Revisited, edited by Francesco Cordasco.

Of Susie's hundred little companions in the alley-playmates they could scarcely be called-some made artificial flowers, some paper boxes, while the boys earned money at "shinin" or selling newspapers. The smaller girls "minded the baby," so leaving the mother free to work. Most of them did something toward earning the family living, young as they were. The rest did all the mischief. The occupations that claim children's labor in and out of the shop are almost as numberless as the youngsters that swarm in tenement neighborhoods. The poorer the tenements the more of them always. In an evening school class of nineteen boys and nine girls which I polled once I found twelve boys who "shined," five who sold papers, one of thirteen years who by day was the devil in a printing office, and one of twelve who worked in a wood yard. Of the girls, one was thirteen and worked in a paperbox factory, two of twelve made paper lanterns, one twelve-year-old girl sewed coats in a sweatshop, and one of the same age minded a pushcart every day. The four smallest girls were ten years old, and of them one worked for a sweater and "finished twenty five coats yesterday," she said with pride. She looked quite able to do a woman's work. The three others minded the baby at home; one of them found time to help her mother sew coats when baby slept.

6. From: Louise G. Odencrantz: "Why Jennie Hates Flowers."

"I hate flowers," said Jennie, a little Italian girl of nine, as she bent over the pile of white daisy petals on the kitchen table. She was busy picking up the "peps," first dipping each stem in paste smeared on a piece of board, slipping a petal up each stem, and inserting it in one of the green tubes on the wreath.

Flowers to her did not spell green fields, pleasant odors, or something soft and agreeable to feel and handle. To this little girl, living in the crowded Italian district on the lower West Side in New York City, flowers meant piles of hideously colored petals of cambric , stiff with starch and dye, and smelling strongly of alcohol, glue, and paste. These she had to fetch from the factory every day after school. Before school the next morning the family had to "manufacture" them into flowers.

7. From: Christ in Concrete, by Pietro di Donato.

Just then, the floor lurched and swayed under his feet. The slipping of the underpinning below rumbled up through the undetermined floors.

Was he faint or dizzy? Was it part of the dreamy afternoon? He put his hands in front of him and stepped back, and looked up wildly. "No! No!"

The men poised stricken. Their throats wanted to cry out and scream but didn't dare. For a moment they were a petrified and straining pageant. Then the bottom of their world gave way. The building shuddered violently, her supports burst with the crackling slap of wooden gunfire. The floor vomited upward. Geremio clutched at the air and shrieked agonizingly. "Brothers, what have we done? Ahhhh-h, children of ours!" With the speed of light, balance went sickeningly awry and frozen men went flying explosively... Walls, floors, beams became whirling, solid, splintering waves crashing with detonations that ground man and material in bonds of death. The strongly shaped body... thudded as a worthless sack amongst the giant debris that crushed fragile flesh and bone with centrifugal intensity.

Questions

Selection

1. What criticism of Italy is expressed in selection one? What praise of America do you find in this selection?
2. Why was the trip from Avigliano to America such an ordeal for Mrs. Covello? What incidents reveal the strength of her character? What was her

greatest fear? What were her first reactions to America?

3. What forces in the mother country made the Italian people so loyal to their small towns and to the people in them? How was this attitude carried over to America? What were the advantages of such an attitude? What were the disadvantages?
4. The narrator in selection 4 is ashamed of being Italian. Why? Why did the way his mother prepared the food in his lunch pail embarrass him? Is his attitude an unusual one? What do you think?
5. Selections 5 and 6 describe the work of children. Why are these children working? What feelings do the authors show about the work these children do? Why have the authors written these descriptions? Do these descriptions shock you? Why or why not?
6. Why does Jennie hate flowers? What did flowers mean to Jennie? Why?
7. Selection 7 describes an accident at a construction project. Judging from the description, what do you think happened? What words and what pictures does the author use to make the description dramatic? Who is Geremio? What happened to him?

Suggested Activities

1. Were you ever embarrassed by or ashamed of parents or relatives who maintained old country habits, who spoke English with an accent, or who were loud and noisy? If such an experience happened to you or to a friend, write it as a story and tell what you learned from the experience.
2. Do you know of any colony of people in New York City who live in a separate community? There are some groups of Italians, Jews, and

and Blacks as well as other small groups like the Armenians, Asian Indians, etc. that tend to live in small communities. See if you can make a study of such a community, describing their customs and their values. Report your findings to the class.

3. Make a study of what legal steps were taken by local governments to prevent child labor. Report your findings to your class. There are children in the city now who work. They shine shoes. They deliver orders from supermarkets and other stores. They assist parents in their businesses. Discuss whether this is child labor that needs to be regulated by the government.
4. Using the description in selection 7 as a model, write a description of some catastrophic event that you have seen in real life or on television or one that you read about in a newspaper; for example, an airplane crash, a flood, a community struck by a typhoon, a fire in a building. Try to choose dramatic words and images from other experiences. Notice how Pietro di Donato uses words like pageant, gunfire, vomited, flying, waves, detonations, sack, and debris.

THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE

The Jewish people came to America in three movements of immigration. The following account, prepared by Max Nadel, summarizes the highlights of these three movements:

1. The Colonial Period and the Revolution

Jewish people first came to America in 1654. Twenty-three Jews, who had lived in peace in the Jewish community in Recife, Brazil, under a benign Dutch rule, left the city when it was re-taken by Portuguese forces. Instead of returning to Europe as many of their compatriots did, they sailed to New Amsterdam, then a Dutch colony. Peter Stuyvesant, its governor, at first refused to accept them, but he was ordered by the directors of the Dutch West India Company to let them land. In time, the Jews became part of the New Amsterdam community.

More Jews, though not many, came to the New World in the years that followed. In 1700 there were at most between 200 and 300 Jews in the colonies. They settled in five seaboard communities which at that time were becoming centers of trade and which practiced a tolerance that made it possible for Jews to live there. The five communities were New York (the new name given to New Amsterdam when the town was captured by the British); Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah.

These colonies offered economic, social, and religious opportunities to the Jews that were denied them in the lands from which they came. Although there were some restrictions, they were permitted to engage in almost all activities open to other members of these communities.

Many of them were merchants, shopkeepers, and importers; some became wealthy members of their growing towns. A few, in the South, were farmers and planters. Others were artisans, tailors, bakers, and silversmiths. And a rare few went into the wilderness to trade for furs among the Indians. Fur was much in demand in colonial commerce with the West Indies and with Europe.

In the colonies, the Jews remained loyal to their faith. They had suffered much to remain Jews, and they were not ready to give up Judaism easily. They struggled to attain two goals: to practice their way of life, which meant in part to get permission to build a house of worship, and to participate in the economic and political activities in the communities in which they settled. They were able gradually to win both rights.

Like all subjects of Britain in America, they found themselves involved in the struggles of the English against the French and their Indian allies for territory and power in the New World. With rare exceptions, they fought on the side of Britain. Later, when the American colonists fought for freedom from England, Jews were on both sides, caught up by loyalties fashioned by their economic situations. Most of the Jews, however, realizing the importance in their lives of a truly free society, joined the Revolution and contributed what they could to the cause of liberty.

2. Jews in the Westward Movement

Between the years 1820 and 1861, there was a second immigration of Jews to America. They came primarily from Central Europe, from countries where religious freedom, economic opportunities, and political equality were denied them. The victories of Napoleon had brought them a taste of liberty. Under the leadership of men like Moses Mendelssohn, they had begun to break down the ghetto walls. They wanted a taste of Western culture and the opportunity for professional education. However, with the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of reactionary governments, their hopes were dashed. They found themselves once again cast into the inferior role of ghetto dwellers. Many could not accept the status of a repressed and persecuted minority, and so they left for America.

America at this time was a big, sprawling country. The Jews were only one of the many peoples from abroad who came seeking opportunities in the New World. Many of the German-Jewish immigrants joined their brethren in the cities, found work, learned trades, and settled down. Others, without trades and uneducated, turned to peddling. They purchased, usually on credit, clothing, medicines, household utensils, trinkets and other merchandise that they believed pioneering families would need, placed them in a pack, and peddled their wares in outlying communities. As their business improved, they bought a wagon and horses. This made it possible for them to carry a larger and more varied store of goods and to travel farther. Eventually, a number of them settled down in small communities, opened stores, sent for their families, and joined the social and political life of their town.

As peddlers, they journeyed to the farthest places of the growing land, places like California, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma. They became part of the pioneering movement that helped build the country. They were the "newspapers" of their day, bringing stories of events from place to place as they traveled with their wares. They brought elements of romance and color into the hard lives of the early pioneers. They were often treated as guests, and their appearance was anticipated with pleasure. Their lives were arduous, and they looked forward to the time when they, too, could settle down.

The German-Jewish peddlers and storekeepers maintained the traditions and observances of their fathers as best as they could. Frequently, however, circumstances forced them to modify their way of life. Coming from countries where there were movements to liberalize religious observances, many of them began to do the same in the new land. An immigrant rabbi from Bavaria, Isaac Mayer Wise, became the founder of the Reform movement in Judaism in this country. Many of the congregations established by Jews in growing communities during this period were Reform Jewish congregations, where the services were conducted largely in English, where men and women were permitted to sit together in the sanctuary, where the men could pray without head covering, where some of the traditional vestments of prayer, like the prayershawl and phylacteries, were discarded, and where the major two-day holidays were observed only one day. The fundamental tenets of the Jewish faith-the belief in one God and the ethical structure enunciated in the Bible and Talmud-remained at the heart of the reformed religion.

3. The Migration from Eastern Europe

Many of the tens of thousands of Jews who came to America from East Europe between 1880 and 1914 settled in a small area of Manhattan which came to be known as the Lower East Side. Here they crowded together in tenements and sought to earn a livelihood. They took whatever jobs were available and worked very hard for small wages.

Many entered the clothing industry; others became peddlers and sold their wares from pushcarts on the streets; still others opened small stores. A few were mechanics, building workers, or artisans, and they made their living doing repair work.

Their religious and cultural interests and activities compensated most of these immigrants for the hardships of their lives. Many spent time in the synagogue, and gave an aura of beauty to their holiday observances. Many met friends in the cafeterias to discuss current events. They read their newspapers avidly, listened to famous cantors, attended plays, and discussed books.

With time, a few of the luckier and more ambitious ones became well-to-do. They moved away from the crowds, the dirt, and the clutter of the East Side to better neighborhoods. They tried to become Americaized faster and to assume the speech and manners of their affluent neighbors. Some even began to look down upon their less fortunate brethren. But a sense of guilt or a sting of memory kept them contributing from a distance to causes that might help their underprivileged fellow Jews. They supported day nurseries, religious schools, charity funds, and free loan societies for the poor.

East Side Jews were people of spirit and action. Poverty turned a few to crime. But most of them respected education as a way of escaping poverty and regaining dignity. Parents wanted better lives for their children, and the children responded to the challenge of America. They worked hard to achieve their ambitions. Putting a child through school as far as he would go was a responsibility a family took seriously. Mothers and brothers and sisters worked if necessary. In fact, working one's way through school became an honored tradition. By dint of dream and effort, a generation of professionals-scholars, teachers, doctors, lawyers-emerged from the ghetto.

Hopes and ambition were often thwarted by tragedy. People lost jobs or fell victims to illness or accident. But it was the rare family that didn't manage to rise above disaster and push towards its goals.

1. From: The Rise of David Levinsky, by Abraham Cahan (1917)

(The following was typical of what happened to Jewish young people in small towns in Russia.)

The Jewish Passover often concurs with the Christian Easter. This was the case in the year in question. One afternoon--it was the seventh day of our festival--I chanced to be crossing the Horsemarket. As it was not market day, it was deserted save for groups of young Gentiles, civilians, and soldiers who were rolling brightly colored Easter eggs over the ground. My new long-skirted coat and side locks provoked their mirth until one of them hit me a savage blow in the face, splitting my lower lip. Another rowdy snatched off my new cap--just because our people considered it a sin to go bareheaded. And, as I made my way, bleeding, with one hand to my lip and the other over my bare head, the company sent a shower of broken eggs and a chorus of jeers after me.

2. From: Benjamin the Jew, by Louis Gratacup (1913).

(This is a description of a pogrom, an attack against the Jewish community.)

An instant later, and all was confusion, disorder, a thronging mass of fleeing men and women, a rapid inundation of brutes and furious zealots, the pounding and swaying _moudjiks_ dizzily swinging their staves upon the heads and bodies of the shrinking crowds, the furious Cossacks here and there prodding with sword or bayonet the exposed flesh of fainting and falling boys and girls, at one point a hardier group of men striking back half heartedly one bent arm covering their faces and the other aimlessly beating in front of them, with foolishly impotent flourishes; at another grizzled heads bowed, bodies kneeling, outstretched hands, each finger spread in twitching misery and pitiful fear.

Smirlaus is among the leaders, and his growling voice rises into a strident vociferation, calling, "Death to the infidels. They spat on the icon, the holy Madonna. Death--death--hell--hell--revenge." The synagogue was surrounded, and the stones now began to rain through the breached walls and the wrecked windows... The windows blazed with spitting flame, and scores of men and women fell within the temple.

3. From: _The Broken Wall_, by Edward Steiner (adapted)(1911).

(Immigrants to America were always fearful that they would not be permitted to enter the new country because of some illness.)

"Will _he_ let him in?" They ask for the thousandth time. It is nine o'oclock at night and there are twelve hours left. We must pray; perhaps _he_ will let him in...

The little boy's great black eyes are growing dim. Midnight strikes and there is such silence as is possible where over a thousand people try to sleep just before the judgment day. The air is heavy and hot and tense.

The boy with the cough is sleeping. His father with drooping head sleeps too....

It is morning. One by one the emigrants are let down from the great ship and counted again, that none is missing. Will he let them in? The old man and his wife, the baker boy, the young widow, the farmer, the children without parents, the man who has a job and the man who has none? They do not know. The boy with the cough--will he let him in?

4. From: "Grandfather's World," By Miriam Smith. (Student composition)

My grandfather told me that the winter of 1916 was one of the coldest that the East Side Jewish ghetto experienced. Days of freezing temperatures followed one another in endless succession. Then to make matters worse, there was a shortage of coal, and in many apartments, the kitchen stoves were idle.

One day it was announced that coal would be available on Essex Street below Grand Street. A coal dealer was ready to sell coal by the sack from a number of wagons. Early in the morning a long line formed, mostly fathers or older sons and some mothers, some with sacks, others with pails in which to carry the purchased coal. The people in line did everything to keep themselves warm in the bitter cold. They stamped and danced and waved their arms, but it was all futile.

My grandfather gathered three of his cronies. They went to the grocery store where they persuaded the proprietor to sell them two forty quart cans of milk. They rolled the cans to the tenement on Essex Street where my grandfather lived and carried the cans into his apartment which was on the first floor. They lifted the cans onto the gas range, removed the covers, lit the jets, and heated the milk until it boiled.

While the milk was being heated, one of my grandfather's friends rushed downstairs and borrowed an empty pushcart from a neighbor; another knocked on a few doors and borrowed as many glasses and cups as he could carry. The boiled milk was carried downstairs, placed on the pushcart, with the cups and glasses. The grocery man had lent the group two ladles. The four men moved their pushcart down the line of people waiting in the cold to buy coal and ladled out a glass or cup of hot milk to each one.

5. From: Jews Without Money, by Michael Gold.

I can never forget the East Side Street where I lived as a boy. It was a tenement canyon hung with fire escapes, bedding, and faces.

Always these faces at the tenement windows. The street never failed them. It was an immense excitement. It never slept. It roared like a sea. It exploded like fireworks.

People pushed and wrangled in the street. There were armies of howling pushcart peddlers. Women screamed. Dogs barked. Babies cried.

Whirlwinds of dust and newspaper. A prophet passed, an old-clothes Jew with a white beard. Kids were dancing around the hurdy-gurdy. Two bums slugged each other.

Excitement, dirt, fighting, confusion! The sound of my street roared like a great carnival. The noise was always in my ears. Even in sleep I could hear it. I can hear it now...

The summer. It was painful to draw one's breath. The sun blazed with sheer murder all day. At night, steam rose from the ghetto stones. There was never any relief from the weight pressing on our necks and skulls. People were sick. Doctors were busy.

The Jewish babies whimpered and died. The flies thrived. Every one was nervous. There were quarrels down the airshaft. I would wake in the dead of night and hear the tenement groaning and twisting in bedrooms. People were exploring for sleep as for a treasure. Hollow-eyed ghosts tramped the streets all night. Families slept on the docks, in the parks, on the roof. But the world was hot.

Some nights my mother laid bedding on the sidewalk before our tenement. While she and my father fanned themselves on the stoops and gossiped with the neighbors, my sister and I slept in the street.

6. From: Jews Without Money by Michael Gold

I

Betsy was an Italian woman who lived in the next tenement. She had a long emaciated face covered with moles, engraved with suffering like an old yellow wood carving. Her coffee-colored eyes always seemed to have a veil over them, as if she were hiding a terrible secret. She avoided people; swathed in her long black scarf she stole down the street furtively, as if conscious of the eyes of the world....

She was left with three children, and no friends. She could speak only Italian. My mother visited her, and through sheer sympathy, learned, in the course of several visits, a kind of pigeon-Italian. It was marvelous to hear my mother hold hour-long conversations with this woman in a poly glot jargon that was a mixture of Italian, Yiddish, Hungarian and English. But the women understood each other.

My mother helped Betsy find a clothing shop that would give her basting work to do at home. My mother helped the Christian in many ways. And Betsy worshiped her. In the midst of her miseries she found time to knit a large wool shawl as a surprise for my mother. She brought it in one night and cried and jabbered excitedly in Italian, and kissed my mother's hands. And my mother cried, and kissed her, too. We could not understand a word of what they were saying, but my mother kept repeating in Yiddish: "Ach, what a good woman this is! What a dear woman!" My mother treasured this shawl more than anything she owned.

II

I had two pennies. I decided to go to Chinatown and buy some sugarcane. This would be a great adventure. I would see if I were brave. I would go there by way of Mulberry Street....

...I saw two Italian boys, rolling an iron hoop down the street. My knees shook. I pretended to myself I was a spy and walked along as if I belonged here. I looked around carefully. I saw the Italian pushcarts. They were heaped with strange green vegetables I had never seen. I saw an old Italian man who wore earrings. I saw Christians eating oysters and clams at a pushcart....

Bang. I had been slugged over the head. I jumped in surprise and turned to see who had hit me. I was in the hands of the enemy! Eight Italian boys with sticks surrounded me, whooping like Indians. Their eyes gleamed, their faces were cruel. The thing I feared most had happened.

The leader, a big strong boy, clutched my collar, and asked fiercely:

"What streeter?"

I was confused, and made a great tactical blunder. I told the truth.

"Chrystie Street," I said.

"Hooray, a Jew, a Jew!" he screamed, his face lighting up with a boy's joyous cruelty. He slugged me with his stick. The others yelled and joined in the slugging. I fell to the pavement, then fought to my feet and ran. Down Mulberry Street I ran. They pursued me, throwing stones, bricks and vegetables....

The grown-ups lined the curbing and watched the chase without much interest. Some of them laughed at the juvenile tragedy. I sobbed and ran. I grew weaker. At last I came to the Bowery, and managed to cross it into my own Jewish land.

7. From: "Out of the Shadow," by Rose Cohen in Developing Unity Among Peoples edited by Robert W. Edgar.

Father stopped at a fruitstand and told me to choose what I wanted. There was nothing strange to me in that. At home when we sold fruit, as we did sometimes during the summer, Jewish people came on Saturday to eat apples or pears for which they paid the following week. (According to the Jewish religion, the handling of money on the Sabbath was forbidden.) So I thought it was the same here.

I looked and looked at the fruit: "What shall I take?" Apples, oranges, plums, pears --all were arranged in neat pyramids, all looked good and very tempting, surrounded by fresh green leaves, glistening with drops of water. I looked at the strange fruits also. I saw long finger-like things with smooth yellow skins, and grapes which I knew by name only. In a glass case on a square of ice there were some slices of watermelon.

"What shall I take?" I asked, turning to father. "Anything you like," he smiled encouragingly. I decided on a slice of melon. I looked up into father's face. I felt proud of him that he had credit at so beautiful a fruitstand.

As I received the melon in my fingers I saw father take his hand out of his pocket and hold out a coin. I felt the blood rush to my face. I stood staring at him for a moment. Then I dropped the melon on the pavement and ran. Before I had taken many steps I realized that I was running away from home and turned back. In passing the stand I did not look to see if father was still there but ran on.

"My father has touched coin on the Sabbath!"

8. From: Children of Men, by Bruno Lessing (1903)

The sewing machine whirred and roared and clicked, and the noise drowned out every other sound. Braun finished garment after garment and arranged them in a pile beside his machine. When there were twenty in a pile he paused in his work--if your eyes were shut you would never have known that one machine had stopped--and he carried the garments to the counter, where the marker gave him a ticket for them. Then he returned to his machine. This was the routine of his daily labor from seven o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock at night...

On and on the machines roared. There was no other sound to conflict with or to vary the monotony. At each machine sat a human being working with hand, foot, and eye, watching the flashing needle, guarding the margin of the seams, jerking the cloth hither and thither quickly, accurately, watching the spool to see that the thread ran freely, oiling the gear with one hand while the other continued to push the garment rapidly under the needle, the whole body swaying, bending, twisting this way and that to keep time and pace with the work. Every muscle of the body toiled, but the mind was free--free as a bird to fly from that suffocating room out to green fields and woods and flowers.

9. From: Dr. Rast, by James Oppenheim (1909)

The doctor struggled fiercely. But he was their doctor; he had the right to tell them. It came mildly, calmly--just a fact.

"I'm thinking," he said, "of the children that might be your children!"

Ruth gasped; the three stood still; they did not look at each other. The blinding terrible truth flashed through the minds of the boy and girl. The mystery of marriage--the strange bringing into this world of new souls--the strange creative power that was theirs--overwhelmed them with a kind of terror. Then they heard the doctor mildly continuing:

"Consumptives must not have children; you can't marry. You must not even kiss each other. You must bravely release each other. It's hard--but you must. You can't toy with God--you know!"

They suddenly realized; they had almost started to play with the unseen Power--ignorant of its eternal fatalness--its strength that rolls planets and creates worlds. Awed and hushed and guilty, they stood looking down on the silvery pavement.

Questions

Selection

1. Selections 1 and 2 highlight the reasons why so many Jews came to America between 1880 and 1910. What were they running away from? Why did the Christians in Russia turn on the Jews?
2. What excuses did the Russian mob have for attacking the Jews? Why do you think the Jews ran to their synagogue to escape their attackers? What words in the description make dramatic the brutality of the attackers and the fear and suffering of the persecuted Jews?
3. Who is he referred to in this selection? Why are the parents of the boy fearful that he will not be permitted to enter America? What do you learn from this passage of conditions on the ships that took immigrants to America?

4. Life was hard for immigrants who came to America. What problems of immigrants are mentioned in this selection? What characteristics of immigrant life are highlighted? What in your opinion led the grandfather and his friends to do what they did? What does it tell you about these people?
5. What was life like for the poor immigrants in the East Side of New York City, according to this passage? Are conditions any better for poor people today? What do you think?
6. These two selections illustrate the conflicting attitudes that existed on New York's East Side. The adults, expecially the mothers, got along -- all occupied in the daily grind of making a living and surviving. The young people, the adolescent boys, organized into gangs, usually as members of ethnic groups and fought one another. If an Italian boy were to wander alone into a Jewish neighborhood, he would encounter the same difficulty faced by the Jewish narrator in the selection. One important force that in those early days brought ethnic groups together was the schools.
   Discuss in class the reasons why there are antagonisms among ethnic groups. Discuss also those elements in a community that help to bring ethnic groups together. Why was it possible for the Jewish and Italian mother to get together? What could the community have done to lessen the antagonisms between the Jewish and Italian boys?
7. The Sabbath is a very holy day for deeply religious Jews. They do not work at all. They do not carry money. The narrator of this story is a little girl, very religious, who has just joined her immigrant father in America. Can you tell what made the father give up some of the customs he had observed in the old country? What customs have your parents or your grandparents given up in the new world? Why? What customs have they retained? Why?
8. This is a description of a garment factory. Imagine yourself working in a place like this twelve hours a day. How would such work affect you physically and mentally? What dangers would you face doing such work? The author says that the worker's mind was free. What does he mean?

9. This selection describes the tragedy of two young immigrants in love. Why had they come to see the doctor? What is his diagnosis? What do you think caused the young man's sickness? What advice does the doctor give them? Why?

Suggested Activities

1. The Jewish people were not the only ones in America or Europe who suffered from prejudice and discrimination. Select an ethnic group such as the American Indians, the Chicanos, the Blacks, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles and in some dramatic form--literary or artistic--recount an experience of prejudice to be shared with your classmates.
2. Except possibly for the early Puritans, the Armenians, the Bangladesh, and possibly a few other peoples, the Jews were a people who suffered untold persecution because of their faith. Select a period or event in history such as the Crusades, the Inquisition, the German Holocaust and tell the story of what happened and why. Discuss what can be done to prevent such tragic occurrences from afflicting any people.
3. There was much exploitation of immigrant workers in America. All suffered. Describe the exploitation of the workers of one immigrant group and tell what efforts were made to remedy the injustices and what the situation is today.
4. There are many people today who think that unions created to protect the rights of workers have become too powerful. Conduct a debate on whether or not union power is harming the American economy.

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE

The following short history of the Chinese in America was borrowed from The Chinese Community in New York, 1920-1940 by I. Hsuan Julia Chen, a dissertation submitted to the American University in Washington.

The Early Immigrant

America was born with a distinct historical connection with the "Middle Kingdom," and throughout the course of history the peoples of the two nationalities have had in general cordial economic, social, and diplomatic relations. Even during the pre-treaty days the American merchants and missionaries started their activities in distant China--most of their undertakings were established in Canton, the earliest port opened to foreigners.

Despite the American presence on the Chinese soil, there were very few "Celestials" who had a glimpse of the United States before the eighteen-forties. The principal reason was that for centuries the Chinese emperors had forbidden the emigration and expatriation of their subjects. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the ban was gradually lifted, and a system of regulated emigration through licensed receiving depots was introduced at Canton with the cooperation of foreign consuls. Canton being the first port opened to foreign trade, its inhabitants possessed the earliest opportunity for contacts with the Occidentals and thereby learned more respecting the outside world. When the "Golden Romance" filled the air, the Cantonese participated in the gold rush. They composed the earliest group of Chinese immigrants, free and sturdy farmers, admitted into this country. Even up to the present day the bulk of the Chinese population in America hail from the rural districts of Kwangtung Province.

In 1850 hundreds of Chinese bade farewell to their beloved homes and ventured across the seas hoping to find a decent living in this free New World. Once under way, immigration increased steadily, and by 1852, twenty-thousand Cantonese entered America. At the outset racial intermingling took place peacefully. The Chinese were expressly welcomed in many occasions... The Chinese labor was then needed in the construction of transcontinental railroads, the development of mines, and the reclamation of five million acres of swamp lands in California. Agents were sent to China to tap its reservoir of labor supply. High wages in the building of these railways and gold mines were a magnet drawing more and more Chinese to America, and by 1870 their number had mounted to over sixty thousand...

Peace and goodwill did not reign long, for anti-Chinese feeling was aroused by the labor elements, especially the Irish immigrants... The Chinese in California were subjected to persecution in the seventies. "The Chinese must go" became the slogan of the Workingmen's Party, and the Chinese question gained a loud ring in the American politics. Politicians together with the labor leaders brought great pressure to bear upon Congress, which consequently made another treaty with China in November 1880. Peking agreed that the United States "must regulate, limit or suspend" the immigration of the Chinese laborers, but "may not absolutely prohibit it." The year 1882 ushered forth the first national restrictive legislation, known as the Chinese Exclusion Act which suspended the coming of the Chinese laborers for a period of ten years.

After the completion of the railways, lack of employment drove many Chinese to the mines and the camps in the Northwest. Here too they suffered great maltreatment. Anti-Chinese behavior culminated in the form of massacres in 1885 when series of attacks upon the Chinamen broke out in Seattle and elsewhere in the Washington Territory. In Rock Springs, Wyoming, and at Log Cabin, Oregon, again many Chinese were murdered, wounded, and residences were burned down. Besides the loss of lives hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property were destroyed.

After these drastic measures, thousands of the timid Chinese hurriedly packed up and returned to their Motherland. Others moved from the Pacific Coast and settled elsewhere. That the Chinese population radically declined was shown by the following data. By the year of 1900 the number had reduced to 89,863, and twenty years later only 61,639 Chinese remained in the United States... Since 1904 Chinese immigration had ceased to be a major issue and they had become a more or less recognized part of the American Commonwealth. Although they have not been entirely free from trouble, yet the situation had greatly improved since the lapse of that stormy period. In the meantime when the Americans discovered that the Japanese situation in California was much harder to handle and this group of Asiatics was much more aggressive than the Chinese, the anti-Japanese agitation became active since 1901 along the Pacific region.

New York's Chinatown

The Chinese immigrants found a comparatively peaceful foothold in the West for nearly two decades after their first arrival in the fifties. Prior to the outrages of the seventies and eighties, very few of their number sought refuge in the East except some sailors, peddlers and an occasional servant. The first appearance of the Chinese in any numbers in the eastern cities dates from 1870. Mr. Sampson of North Adams, Massachusetts, brought seventy-five young Chinese across the continent to work in his factory... A little later, sixty-eight Chinese were employed by Captain Mervey to work in his laundry at Belleville, New Jersey. When the other merchants were under the general impression that Chinese labor was cheap and very easy to be obtained, he informed them that it was untrue, for it cost him an original outlay of $125.00 to bring each of his sixty-eight hands from San Francisco to Belleville...

Once the opportunities were found in the East, the subsequent decades witnessed the spread of Chinese population from California into large cities of other sections of the Union. They migrated thither in order to escape the intense agitation against their employment in the Pacific areas. New York being a commercial center attracted them most.

It was in the late eighties and early nineties that more Chinese began to migrate eastward from California. Their objective destination was New York for that metropolis meant the entire East to the Chinese of the West. When Li Hung Chang, the illustrous envoy sent by the Manchu Court, came to America in 1894, he found quite a little community in New York's Chinatown. In fact, it was due to his visit that the Chinese-American dish "Chop-Suey," literally meaning "mixed ingredients," became very popular. And as a result, Doyers Street was opened to the Chinese merchants so that more room could be provided to accommodate the American customers...

Despite the influx of the pleasure-seeking Americans, the Chinamen were kept to themselves. The rank and file did not understand English and did not care to be understood by the Americans. Not long after these Orientals settled down, they chose among themselves those who understood English best to act as their leaders. Those leaders in turn organized a council electing from among their number the person best qualified to represent them as a spokesman of the community. He was bestowed the title of "Chu Si" or "Mayor" of Chinatown...

The large majority of the Cantonese who came to this country were young men or boys. Like other immigrants they came to America to make their fortune. Hence, they were mostly unmarried. Those early settlers brought their customs from the Cantonese villages. They established temples and worshipped their gods; celebrated the Oriental festivals, and wore the Chinese garments and the Manchu queues. The Cantonese dialect was the exclusive language spoken among themselves. Moreover, their laundries, grocery stores, barber shops, and restaurants were mostly patronized by their own race.

Little by little some Chinatown merchants sent for their families from across the sea, and when the Chinese population grew, family guilds as well as other social and fraternal associations developed in the Chinese community. In 1910 the number of Chinese in New York City was 4,614, and ten years later it climbed to 5,042. Today (1940) with a population of approximately five thousand New York's Chinatown can boast of being the second largest Chinese community in the United States. However, outside of Chinatown nearly twenty thousand more Chinese have erected their abode in Greater New York.

1. From: Chinese Americans, by Stanford M. Lyman.

The great majority of Chinese male immigrants were forced to live as homeless men during their sojourn in America. Crowded together in tenements and roominghouses, they sometimes slept ten or twelve to a room. Others occupied single rooms in which they lived a lonely and solitary existence. Their social and recreational life was organized around all-male associations-clans, hui kuan, and secret societies- and the gambling parlors that dotted Chinatown. At night in the solitude of their tiny apartments or in a clubhouse established by their kinsmen they read romances, dramas, and histories, cast their fortunes according to the I Ching, studied the rules of arithmetic and the abacus, pored over small volumes on herbal medicine and acupuncture, or attempted to master English with the aid of dictionaries and the popular Ying Ü Tsap Tsün (English Words Collected Completely). Small groups of friends attended the popular Chinese theater or gathered together for visiting and study. Jacob Riis, a compassionate journalist, wandered through New York's Chinatown at the turn of century. He described the poverty, filth, and disease in the community and detailed its much-discussed vices. But in contrast to the chorus of Sinophobic voices demanding the absolute and permanent exclusion of the Chinese, Riis suggested an alternative approach:

> "Rather than banish the Chinaman, I would have the door opened wider-for his wife; make it a condition of his coming or staying that he bring his wife with him. Then, at least, he might not be what he now is and remains, a homeless stranger among us."

2. From: "Each Year Grain," by Shawn Hsu Wong in Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers, edited by Frank Chin et al.

My great-grandfather who drove rail spikes and laid track was speaking to me. "I left for San Francisco one month before my brother. In those days some ships were bringing us in illegally. They would drop a lifeboat outside the Golden Gate with the Chinese in it. Then the ship would steam in and at night the lifeboat would come in quietly and unload. If they were about to be caught, my people would be thrown overboard. But, you see, they couldn't swim because they were chained together. My brother died on that night and now his bones are chained to the bottom of the ocean. No burial ever. Now I am fighting to find a place in this country.

"We do not have our women here. My wife is coming to live here. We are staying. Nothing was sweet about those days I lived alone in the city, unless you can find sweetness in that kind of loneliness. I slept in the back of a kitchen by the grimy windows where the light and noises of the wet city streets were ground in and out of me like the cold. The bed was so small I could hardly move away from my dreams. And when I awakened with the blue light of the moon shining in, there would be no dreams. That one moment when I wake, losing my dreams, my arms and heart imagining that she was near me moving closer and I float in her movements and light touch. But the blue light and the noise were always there and I would have nothing in my hands."

Great-grandfather's wife was a delicate, yet a strong and energetic lady. Insisting in her letters to Great-grandfather to let her come and join him. The loneliness was overpowering him, yet he resisted her pleas, telling her that life was too dangerous for a woman. "The people and the work move like hawks around me, I feel chained to the ground, unable even to cry for help. The sun blisters my skin, the winters leave me sick, the cold drains us. I look into the eyes of my friends and there is nothing, not even fear."

Upon receiving his letter, Great-grandmother told her friends that she was leaving to join her husband, saying that his fight to survive was too much for a single man to bear. And so she came and was happy and the hawks had retreated.

3. From: The Chinese Community in New York, 1920-1940, by Julia I Hsuan-Chen.

Chinatown entertains three religious beliefs; viz., Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. Confucianism, in fact, is not religion, but a philosophical doctrine. A generation ago Buddha was worshiped, and Confucianism preached. But at present although some women of the older generation still observe religious practices of their forebears, yet their piety to the Goddess of Mercy has rapidly disappeared. Since 1920 the temples no longer serve as the worshiping place of the Buddhists, and Buddhism is not taught to the younger generation. On the other hand, Confucianism and Buddhism are losing ground even among the older Chinese, a number of whom have become genuine converts to Christianity.

Furthermore, with the Christian influence of a Baptist missionary in Chinatown, the members of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association decided to cast out the "Joss" (their idol) from their council hall twenty years ago, on the ground that the shrines and tinsel were unAmerican and pagan. As for the young people, in the new environment they exhibit a marked trend away from the old religious beliefs. They receive Christian training in one form or another and many are at least nominal members of the sectarian churches. To them Easter and Christmas are just as important as the Chinese New Year.

As far as the memory of the oldest inhabitants goes back, missions have been established in Chinatown. The Church of All Nations has always been zealous in the redemption of the Chinese souls. Even before the turn of this century, there were three Protestant denominations here; namely, the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Lutheran. Later Catholicism also attempted to gain a foothold but did not make much headway. Today the majority of Chinatown Christians owe their allegiance to the Protestant churches while only a handful are Catholic members.

4. From: Fifth Chinese Daughter, by Jade Snow Wong.

Miss Mullohand, her new teacher, was quite the loveliest person that Jade Snow had ever known. She had wavy blonde hair, fair skin, and blue eyes, and her manner was gentle. Jade Snow always remembered one experience with her.

Sometimes after school a group of girls would play baseball in the schoolyard, while Miss Mullohand acted as umpire. Jade Snow did not do well in such games. Mama had always said that such games were unbecoming for girls. When Jade Snow had wanted to climb up signposts as other children did, Mama had made her sit down and sew. However, one day when Jade Snow was watching the game, someone carelessly flung a bat straight against her hand. As Jade Snow cried out, the teacher rushed to her. She leaned down and held Jade Snow closely. She rubbed her fingers. She wiped her tears.

It was a very strange feeling to be held by a grown-up foreign lady. She could not remember when Mama had held her to give comfort.

5. From: "The Last Rite," by Lee Yu-Hwa in Speaking for Ourselves edited by Lilliam Faderman and Barbara Bradshaw.

His father did not seem to enjoy his dinner. He ate absent-mindedly, absorbed in his own thoughts. Occasionally his eyes would rest on his son, but gave no indication of recognition. When he finished his dinner, Chou, again according to custom, got up and poured him fresh tea. His father's intent stare made him tremble and spill some tea in the saucer.

"What did they teach you in the last three years?" his father asked, sipping his tea.

"English, chemistry, physics..."

Before he could finish recounting the curriculum, his father waved him to stop. He was not impressed by the titles of these strange foreign studies.

"I mean what have you learned? What knowledge is taught in the modern school?"

"It is complicated to explain..." The frown on his father's face cut Chou short. He paused and thought for a second. "In the modern school knowledge is much broader. The students are taught a general understanding of the cultures of various peoples and a fundamental knowledge of science--studies made on the natural aspects of the universe. And then the student proceeds to specialize in a branch of study chosen according to his interests and ability."

"Complicated and broader! Hern!" His father sneered. "What can be more complicated than to live the life of a man? Incidentally, in case they did not tell you this at school, let me tell you that the old-fashioned Chinese education teaches one to be a man."

Chou did not retort; again he had to face up to the impossibility of discussing anything with his father.

"We were taught our duties, duties to the emperor and duties to our parents. And we live by them." His father waited and then impatiently shouted, "What do you have to say for yourself?"

"Things are changing..." Chou faltered.

"What is changing and who does the changing? The same things go on: spring planting, fall harvest, rent collecting, paying taxes, feeding the family and going to the post office to send you money. Nothing is changing here."

Chou withdrew to greater depths of silence.

"You have been gone three years and you come home without having learned a thing. If good money was wasted to buy you common sense, I will teach you myself. The first duty you owe to me and to the old woman who is lying there dying, waiting for you, is to get yourself married. I do not want to remind you of the agony and humiliation you have inflicted upon your fiancee and her family because you do not understand-you never had any understanding."

"I cannot..." Chou's voice failed him in the middle of the sentence.

"I know. You never could do a good thing." His father snorted. "But you do not have to trouble yourself. I have taken care of everything, and I have checked the calendar, too. The day after tomorrow is a fair day and I only hope your grandmother can last that long to see you married." His father dismissed him with a wave of his hand.

6. From: The Chinese Community in New York, 1920-1940 by Julia I. Hsuan Chen.

In New York City after a series of minor raids the police commenced in earnest on September 14, 1925. The federal agents stopped every Chinaman on the streets and forced them to show their credentials, searched every house in the Chinese community, and surrounded two theaters where Chinese plays were shown and ordered the audience to march out. Over a thousand Chinese were examined and one hundred thirty-four condemned for deportation. The majority of them were seamen who had come to this country during the World War when the demand for labor was urgent and had overstayed their leave. These deportees remained at the immigration station on Ellis Island for months owing to lack of means of passage home. No evidence was produced that these men examined or held were connected with the "tong murders."

On September 18, a Chinese was shot in Mott Street. Employing that as an excuse the New York police again swooped into Chinatown and drew a cordon about it, arresting the inhabitants en masse, and "holding impromptu hearings on the sidewalks." Again no warrants were provided. The Chinese laundrymen were pulled from behind their ironing boards, and with the proprietors and workers in the restaurants were dragged to the police station. In both cases the police smashed windows, broke doors, and left homes opened and unguarded. When the Chinese returned from custody, they found their properties sacked. Furthermore, they were told that if the police found them in Chinatown after nine o'clock at night, their certificates would be revoked and their persons deported. The editor of The Nation commented on these episodes thus:

> In the light of our own inability to protect Chinese in the United States-or, worse still, of our offical intention not to give them the equal protection of the laws,... it would seem appropriate for the Chinese to demand extraterritorial rights for Chinese in the United States.

It must be added, however, that since the twenties when the tong quarrels have stopped, no more of these raids reoccurred.

7. From: Chinese Americans, by Stanford M. Lyman.

The variety of work in which Chinese immigrants engaged has been rarely noted in literature on the subject. Not only did Chinese work in abandoned goldfields, build railroads, and wash clothes in America, but they also labored in many areas of mineral extraction; several kinds of fishery and cannery work; a number of different types of construction; the cigar, woolen, shoe, boot, and slipper industries; and garment manufacture. Chinese workers were employed in making bags, brooms, cordage, matches, candles, soap, bottles, pottery, and whips. A considerable amount of the reclamation work in the early West was done by Chinese. In the rural areas of California and other western states Chinese were employed in digging irrigation ditches, underground wine cellars, and reservoirs; in picking grapes, apples, peaches, cherries, pears, and olives; in growing cabbages, pumpkins, celery, and asparagus; and in building stone bridges, rock walls, and paved roads. In the towns and cities Chinese restauranteurs provided a menu of exotic cuisine for Occidental palates, artisans from Canton carved jade, and Chinese adolescents and old men worked as waiters, busboys, butlers, and domestics wherever service industries and wealthy patrons demanded them.

However, the diversified occupational picture was short-lived for Chinese. Those who had entered agricultural work in the aftermath of the gold strikes were driven from the fields, orchards, and gardens in a series of race-baiting strikes and riots that spread over the state every decade before the turn of the century. In the wake of the nationwide depression of the mid-1870's, Chinese orchardists and farm workers were attacked in Chico and Oroville, while those in Grass Valley, Colusa, and the Lava Beds were burned out. A decade later a second wave of anti-Chinese sentiment took the form of boycotts and burnings, forcing General John Bidwell, owner of 20,000 acres in Chico and also of a soap factory employing Chinese workers, to fire his Asian workers.

8. From: The Chinese Community in New York, 1920-1940, by Julia I Hsuan Chen.

It is none too easy for a laundryman to earn a living. Lacking capital his enterprise is operated on a small scale, and lacking machinery he works long hours by hand. Furthermore, there exists keen competition between the American and the Chinese laundrymen for the former harbor grievance against the latter's reduced cost of service. During the last decade serious competitive struggle was carried on between the two groups. The trouble lay in the difficulty of the small scale enterprise versus large scale business. From 1930-1933 a systematic campaign was waged against the Chinese. Many

White laundrymen resorted to arousing racial prejudices by displaying anti-Chinese posters which depicted opium smokers, Chinese highbinders, murderers, and other vices. The most insulting cartoon was one which appeared in the windows of those laundries, showing a filthy Chinese laundryman at work spitting on a white shirt. The climax was reached when both parties wasted thousands of dollars in litigations.

9. Examples of Chinese-American Literature

Louis Chu: Eat a Bowl of Tea (1961) novel

Louis Chu writes of Chinatown, New York. He came to America when he was nine years old.

Diana Chang: Frontiers of Love (1956) novel

Diana Chang was born in America but moved to China before her first birthday, to be raised in the "European Compound" of Shanghai as an American in China. She writes of that experience.

Victor and Brett Nee: Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown (1973)

The Nees wrote the first Chinese-American history of Chinese America.

Lin Yutang: A Chinatown Family (1948) novel

C.Y. Lee: Flower Drum Song

"Lin Yutang and C.Y. Lee consciously set out to become American, in the white sense of the word, and succeeded in becoming Chinese-American in the stereotypical sense of the good, loyal, obedient, passive, law-abiding, cultured sense of the word."

Pardee Lowe: Father and Glorious Descendant (1943)

Arthur T.S. Chu: We're Going to Make the Lousiest Chop Suey in Town (1966)

Chu ridicules the "spaghetti-chow mein" acquired personality of the American Chinese.

Betty Lee Sung: Mountain of Gold (1967)

Betty Lee Sung praises the Chinese in America for never being overly bitter about prejudice.

Jade Snow Wong: Fifth Chinese Daughter

Francis L.K. Hsu: The Challenge of the American Dream

Calvin Lee: Chinatown, U.S.A.

Topics to Investigate

1. Chinese characters in American literature, films, and T.V.
   Examples: Charlie Chan, Fu Manchu
2. Tin Pan Alley songs about the Chinese
   Examples: Chinatown, My Chinatown; So Long, Oolong (How long you gonna be gone); Ming Toy; Little Chinky Butterfly; Hong Kong Dream Girl.

10. AIIIEEEEE!

An Anthology of Asian-American Writers

"The pushers of white American culture pictured the yellow man as something that when wounded, sad, or swearing or wondering whined, shouted or screamed "aiiieeeee!"

This anthology was edited by:

Frank Chin

Jeffrey Paul Chan

Lawson Fusao Inada

Shawn Hsu Wong

It was published by Howard University Press in 1974.

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1.	America Is in My Heart (selection from a novel)	Carlos Bulosan (Filipino)
2.	The Chinese in Haifa	Jeffrey Paul Chan (Chinese)
3.	The Frontiers of Love (selection from a novel)	Diana Chang (Chinese)
4.	The Chickencoop Chinaman (from a play)	Frank Chin (Chinese)
5.	Eat a Bowl of Tea (from a novel)	Louis Chu (Chinese)
6.	The Gold Watch (from a play)	Momoko Iko (Japanese)
7.	Rough Notes for Mantos	Wallace Lin (Chinese)
8.	The Woman Who Makes Swell Doughnuts	Toshio Mori (Japanese)
9.	No-No Boy (from a novel)	John Okada (Japanese)
10.	Dark Fiesta	Oscar Penaranda (Filipino)
11.	The New Anak	Sam Tagatac (Filipino)
12.	Each Year Grain	Shawn Hsu Wong (Chinese)
13.	Yoneko's Earthquake	Hisaye Yamamoto (Japanese)
14.	And the Soul Shall Dance	Wakako Yamauchi (Japanese)

Questions

Selection

1. Why do you think Chinese male immigrants were forced to live as homeless men in America? How did they live? What were their forms of entertainment?
2. What memories does the author have of his great-grandparents? Does he remember them with pleasure or with pain? Is he proud of them? How do you know?
3. What do you learn from this selection of the three religious beliefs of the Chinese in New York City: Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity?
4. This selection tells you about the relationship between Chinese parents and their children. How would you describe this relationship? Do you approve of such a relationship? What does the author tell you was missing in this relationship? Do you agree with her? Why?
5. This selection describes a conversation between a father and a son. Describe the relationship between the father and son. Was it a good one? What values are important to the father? What values do you think are important to the son? Which side do you agree with most? Why? What does the father expect of the son? What is the son's major concern?
6. According to this selection, why were the Chinese mistreated by the police and federal agents? Find out what you can about "tongs" and why the members of different tongs fought one another.
7. This selection corrects an idea people have about the kind of work Chinese laborers did in America. What generally was the kind of work done by the Chinese. In what ways did the Chinese help to

build up the country? Why did American workers turn against the Chinese?

8. What methods did white laundrymen use to discredit their Chinese competitors? Does this kind of thing happen today in competition for jobs? What do you think?

Suggested Activities

1. Pretend that you are like Jacob Riis a sociologist studying Chinese life in the early 1900's. Write a speech in which you point out the injustice being done the Chinese and in which you propose specific remedies.
2. Pretend that you are either Jade Snow or Chou. Write a letter to your father or mother explaining what you miss in his or her treatment of you and suggesting ways to change the relationship.
3. Write a letter addressed to the editor of a local newspaper protesting strongly an act of cruelty, injustice, or discrimination directed against a minority group.
4. Prepare a poster or draw a cartoon in which you criticize an unjust treatment of a minority person or group.
5. Read a story, novel, or play dealing with Chinese life. Your teacher will give you a list to choose from. Write a report in which you discuss what you learned of Chinese ways and relationships from reading this work.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PUERTO RICAN EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

I

Puerto Rico started out as an "Indian" island. When Columbus "discovered" Puerto Rico, there was an Indian civilization there. With Spanish domination of the island, three cultures merged: the native island culture, that of the Spanish conquerors, and that of the black slaves whom the Spaniards introduced. The Spanish tradition triumphed so that the language and religion of Spain became the language and religion of the people of Puerto Rico.

II

Puerto Rico is at present (1977) a commonwealth of the United States. Before 1898, there was small scale immigration of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Some merchants, cigar makers, and sailors entered the country. There were between 1,000 and 1,300 Puerto Ricans in America at that time. In 1913 Puerto Ricans received American citizenship. The first significant flow of immigration came as the result of a need in the United States for cheap labor. The availability of air transportation encouraged a large immigration. It reached its peak in the 1950's when about one and a half million Puerto Ricans came to this country. During the 1960's many people went back when opportunities for work diminished. The ties to Puerto Rico were quite strong.

III

Puerto Rican immigrants are to be found in different parts of the country, most of them in the cities. New York City has a large Puerto Rican population. They constitute one eighth of the city population and one fourth of the school population. Eighty five percent of the Puerto Rican community in New York City is 35 years of age or less. They are mostly non-skilled or semi-skilled workers. Women have begun to enter the needle trades industry. The men are to be found in different industrial establishments and in various businesses doing the hard physical labor. Most community leaders and people in the professions -- doctors, lawyers, engineers, experts in communications, etc. -- stay in Puerto Rico. However, leaders and people in the professions are coming from the generations born and educated in America, and from dedicated professionals who come to America to help their people.

IV

The hard life of the Puerto Ricans in New York City has had a harmful effect upon many of them. Their health is the poorest. Many die of non-diseases such as overuse of drugs, accidents, and crimes. Infant mortality is high. Some suffer from mental illness caused by migration, dislocation, and job insecurity. When New York City was a booming job market, life was tolerable. But this is no longer true. We therefore find the Puerto Rican population in the poorest sections of the city, frequently forced to move when neighborhoods deteriorate badly or when neighborhoods are rehabilitated (old houses torn down and new developments constructed).

V

Politically, Puerto Ricans are divided. Some are pro-American; others are anti-American. Some want to be part of the United States. They want Puerto Rico to be the fifty first state. Others want independence. Among these are the ones that use terror to attain their goal. Still others are satisfied with the status quo. They are happy to have their country remain a commonwealth of the United States. This disagreement among them creates unrest.

VI

American culture is a new and powerful influence among the people of Puerto Rico. The children go to American Schools, learn the English language, find the ways of this country attractive, and prefer to remain here even though their parents, oppressed by living in slums and unaccustomed to the hard work and cold winters, long to go back. There are greater opportunities here than on the island for young people, educated in American schools, to secure jobs, to go into different and interesting kinds of activities, and to improve their lot.

The parents, on the other hand, are a rural people. They lack the skills to maintain themselves in urban communities. They have to take the menial jobs. They are not as well paid as the average American workman. They yearn to go back to the homeland. Many who can do so, and there is movement back and forth.

VII

The future of the Puerto Rican in New York City offers the promises which were found by other immigrant groups that preceded them. The population in the city is a large one, and there are customers for many businesses and many services that Puerto Rican entrepreneurs are establishing and that professional men and women are offering. There is also work for many who seek it although unemployment remains high. There are jobs for men in the "two great categories of employment --

the semiskilled in the various factories, toy, plastics, printing, assembling and the like, and porters, kitchen workers, elevator operators, and other workers in the hotels, restaurants, and office buildings." There are jobs for women mostly in clothing factories, but as the new generation acquires skills in the schools, they are moving into clerical and sales positions. For many Puerto Ricans education is offering them opportunities to move into professional and executive positions. Their knowledge of Spanish and English makes possible for them opportunities for positions in government in departments dealing with Latin America and in business houses conducting trade with Latin America.

1. From: Down These Mean Streets, by Piri Thomas.

The weather turned cold one more time. So did our apartment. In the summer, the cooped-up apartments in Harlem seem to catch all the heat and improve on it. It's the same in the winter. The cold walls embrace that cold from outside. They make it part of the apartment....

Snow was falling. Momma said, "Que frio - how cold it is! Doesn't that landlord have any corazon - heart? Why don't he give more heat?" I wondered how Pops was making out. He was working a pick and shovel in that falling snow.

Momma picked up a hammer. She began to beat the beat-up radiator that's given up from so many beatings. Poor steam radiator, how could it give out heat when it was freezing itself? The hollow sounds Momma beat out of it brought echoes from other freezing people in the building. Everybody picked up the beat. It seemed a crazy, good idea. If everybody took turns beating on the radiators, everybody could keep warm from the exercise.

We drank hot cocoa and talked about summertime. Momma talked about Puerto Rico. She talked about how great it was, and how she'd like to go back one day. It was warm all the time there, she said. No matter how poor you were over there, you could always live on green bananas, bacalao (codfish), and rice and beans. "Dios mio," she said, "I don't think I'll ever see my island again."

2. From "Grandma, Please Don't Come," by Jesus Colon in In Question, edited by Kay Black et al.

Please, grandma, don't come!

I know they have sent you the airplane ticket, and a dress just your size with black and white squares all over the beautiful taffeta silk. But please grandma, don't come!

They have sent you the photographs of your little darling grandchildren born in New York. True, you have not seen them yet. You would like to leave your tropical sun and mountains and the little rivulet bathing the base of the fence in your backyard and the tall avacado tree right by your kitchen door, just to see and embrace those darling grandchildren. But again, I say, grandma, please don't come!

I know you are not well-to-do. But you have been living on what your sons and daughters send you every month from the States. I know there is need and poverty around you.

Yes, it is nice here in a way. It is nice if you are young and willing and able to go down five flights of stairs two or three times a day. If you can "take it" in a crowded subway where you are squeezed in tight twice a day as if you were a cork in a bottle. It is all right in a way -- and remember -- I only say in a way -- for young strong people. We come to New York young and leave old and tired. All the fun and joy of life extracted from us by the hurry-up machine way of living we are forced to live here.

In Puerto Rico, nobody pushes you; you walk slowly as if the day had forty-eight hours. Persons completely unknown to you say: "Buenos Dias," with a reverence and a calmness in their voices that reveal centuries of a quiescent, reposed, unhurried way of life.

No matter how many photographs they sent you of Times Square at night, or the Coney Island Boardwalk, grandma, please tell them "NO." A forceful,definite "NO." All those things you have not seen are lots of fun. Don't misunderstand me. New York has many things that are grand. But at your age you will not really be able to enjoy them.

3. From Puerto Rican Americans, by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick.

In order to develop this Spanish colonial culture and transfer it to the natives, the Spanish formed the pueblo, the town, and thus created a community. It was a positive principle of colonial policy that a man could not be a man unless he was a member of a community. Every community was formed in the same way. A plaza was designed which was to be the center of community life, the place where all members of the community could meet, celebrate fiestas, and participage in religious ceremonies. The main building on the plaza was the Church; no community could exist unless God were a member of it. Thus all the members of the pueblo were conscious of being members of a community, and the community of necessity was Catholic. When a Latin American said he was catolico, or, more commonly, muy catolico, very Catholic, he did not necessarily mean he had been at Mass or the sacraments; he simply meant that he was a member of a people, a pueblo, which was Catholic. Periodically the pueblo the community, worshiped God in great public demonstrations. In the United States, the pueblo in this sense (the community) never worships God. It guarantees to the individual the right to worship God according to his conscience. But practice of the faith in the United States is not a community manifestation; it is a matter of personal choice or commitment....

Puerto Rico has been traditionally Catholic in the style of Catholicism which was characteristic of the Spanish colonies. But in terms of religious experience on the Island, practically all Puerto Ricans were baptized.... Religious practice took the form of such community expressions of faith as processions, celebration of Saints' days, and observance of such days as Good Friday. The personal dimension of religion was generally practiced by wearing medals, maintaining shrines to saints in the home, and praying to particular saints in the church. Religion was thus deeply embedded in the culture as a set of folk beliefs and practices. Nevertheless it played a significant role in symbolizing the central values of the society; it provided a deep sense of solidarity among all classes in the possession of common values and a common meaning of life, and it has been the source of reassurance and consolation to the poeple in general and at critical moments in their lives. This deep religious sense is still present and still plays a significant role in the transition to life on the mainland.

4. From Puerto Rican Americans, by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick.

What is the Puerto Rican community in New York? Containing probably a million people in 1970, it constitutes the largest Puerto Rican city in the world, about one-third larger than the city of San Juan; its population is about 40 per cent of the size of the entire population of Puerto Rico. It is a population mainly of poor working people, the backbone of the labor force for hotels, restaurants, hospitals, the garment industry, small factories, and shops, without whom the economy of the city would collapse. It is youthful, now about one-fourth of the entire public school population of the city. Puerto Ricans constitute one-half of the membership of the entire New York Archdiocese, but there are only six Puerto Rican prients in the city. There is a small but steadily growing number of Puerto Rican policemen and firemen. There are five Puerto Rican school principals in the city, and a small percentage of Puerto Rican teachers. About 25% of the eligible Puerto Rican voters are registered, and not a single Puerto Rican holds an elected office in New York. A large number of small businesses are represented in the Puerto Rican Merchants Association; a small number of professionals, social workers, doctors, and lawyers are beginning to take an active and militant role in support of their people. There are a few community corporations in which Puerto Ricans have an influential or dominant voice in East Harlem and the Lower East Side in Manhattan, Coney Island and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, and South Bronx, Hunts Point, and Tremont in the Bronx. There is one newspaper El Diario de Nueva York, owned by a mainland American and staffed by Puerto Ricans, which is known as the Puerto Rican paper. Although they are only about 15 percent of the city's population, Puerto Ricans constitute about 40 percent of the recipients of public welfare in the form of Aid to Dependent Children; about 23 percent of the registered heroin addicts are Puerto Rican.

All this adds up to a struggling, suffering, poor, but vital segment of the city. It is a community without a visible, powerful leader, and one which has not been able to make a unified impact on the city proportionate to its representation in the population. The community is continually losing experienced persons to the Island in return migration, and is replenishing its poorest ranks with newcomers from the Island. It stands at an uncertain moment in its struggle for stability, identity and strength.

Questions

Selection

1. The selection describes the suffering of a Puerto Rican family in the winter in New York City. What comment does the author make about conditions of Puerto Ricans in New York City? What memories does the mother have of Puerto Rico?
2. Why does the writer of this selection urge his grandmother not to come to New York City? What is his criticism of New York City? Do you agree with him? Why does he not tell his grandmother about the grand things in New York City? What grand things about Puerto Rico does he mention? Can you tell from selections 1 and 2 why Puerto Ricans came to America?
3. How did the pueblo help the Spanish colonialists to transfer their culture to the Puerto Ricans? What notions concerning community did the Spanish establish among the Puerto Ricans? What was the connection between the Catholic faith and a sense of community? How is the practice of faith different in the United States? How did the Puerto Ricans practice their faith? What did this do to enrich their lives? To what extent have the

Puerto Rican ideas of community and faith been transferred to the United States?

4. The Puerto Rican people are trying to become part of the community of New York City. What kind of work do they do? What political, business, and professional fields are they entering? How are they helped by the city? In what parts of the city have they settled? What do they need to succeed in America? What problems do they face? On the basis of the information in this selection, can you foretell what the future of the Puerto Rican population in New York City will be?

Suggested Activities

1. Find out what you can about the government of Puerto Rico and its relationship to the United States and report your findings to your class.
2. Some Puerto Ricans want to be a new state of the United States. Others want to remain as a commonwealth of the United States. A third group wants freedom, an independent state running its own government and country. Make a study of the reasons for the three different views and report your findings to your class.
3. One of the organizations seeking to improve conditions for Puerto Rico in America is called Aspira. Find out what you can about the work of this organization and report your findings to your class.

HISTORY OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN NEW YORK CITY

The source for much of the material in this account is Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, by Gilbert Osofsky.

There were a little over 60,000 Blacks in New York City at the turn of the century. Some 5,000 of them were foreign born coming from many islands in the Caribbean, but primarily from the British West Indies. Approximately two-thirds of all the Negroes in New York State lived in the city, and of these more than half lived in Manhattan.

Among these Blacks, there was a small middle class constituting less than ten percent of the population. Some were physicians and lawyers. Others were successful in business. Most were clerks, actors and actresses, musicians and music teachers. The majority of the Black population in New York City at that time were engaged in unskilled and low-paying jobs. They were servants, porters, waiters, waitresses, teamsters, dressmakers, laundresses, janitors, and laborers.

Another problem was that there were more black women than men in the population. Most of the women worked and were providers in the family. This situation created difficulties for the black men and had a harmful effect upon the stability of their families.

Most of the black population lived in the center of Manhattan from Twentieth Street to Fifty-third Street on the West Side. They lived in buildings and homes that were disgraceful. Yet they paid the highest rents, generally two to five dollars more than whites paid for similar housing.

The world of the Black in New York City at the turn of the century had five divisions. There were the hard-working, struggling poor who lived in miserable homes, who worked at menial jobs for low wages, who suffered from the many ailments of poverty, and who had little hope. There were the people who turned to crime and vice - the pimps, prostitutes, gamblers, corrupt politicians, keepers of saloons and dives. There were the church leaders who founded religious institutions and Y.M.C.A.'s for Blacks and who brought faith and a ray of hope into the lives of their people. There was the small middle class, the few, who as professionals and businessmen, had made it in the difficult, competitive world and who had attained position and respect. And finally, there were the members of "negro Bohemia," the writers, artists, actors, vaudevillians, songwriters, who had won fame and success through their talents.

Between 1890 and 1914 there was a large migration of Blacks from the south. By 1910 there were over 91,000 Blacks in New York City, the majority of them southern born.

Two basic reasons encouraged southern Blacks to come North: a desire to find a better life and a need to escape the harsh treatment visited upon Blacks by violent southern racism. The industrial expansion in the North created new opportunities for workers, and the new generation of Blacks could not see themselves tied to the soil as their parents and grandparents had been. They resisted efforts on the part of Southern farm owners and businessmen to keep them on the farm. After all, black labor was necessary to Southern economic success. They were, in fact, driven away by the harshness created in their world by white supremacy movements.

But the cities did not prove to be the happiest places for the incoming Blacks. As the numbers of Black residents increased in New York City, racial antagonism was rekindled. White churches discouraged Blacks from attending services. Hotels, restaurants, and theaters refused to admit them. Unions set up restrictions that barred them from membership and employment. Even the Blacks who lived in New York City felt threatened by the influx of so many migrants. Soon there were movements to encourage the Blacks of the South to stay where they were. However, the efforts to keep them home failed.

In the beginning of the migration from the South, the Blacks who came to New York City found themselves in conflict with the Irish immigrants. The Black was encouraged to develop antagonisms toward the Irish as foreigners to America, while the Irishman was sparked to look with disdain upon the Black. The hostility between the two peoples led to many clashes and culminated in a bloody riot in August of 1900.

The migration of Blacks from the South continued and the population grew. Where at first Blacks lived in small enclaves in different parts of the city, they began between 1910 and 1920 to move into Harlem and soon a large ghetto of Black dwellers was created. The leaders of the community envisioned Harlem as a fine, growing Negro community, a city of Blacks independent, comfortable, and secure. But it was not to be. The continued migration flooded the area. Homes became crowded and were not adequately cared for. By the 1930's Harlem was a slum, punctuated here and there with a few sections of decent dwellings.

The crowding in Harlem produced shocking and tragic results. First, there was a rapid deterioration of housing. Despite the fact that rents were high and that landlords made large profits by converting buildings into rooming houses, dwellings were permitted to become rundown. Between owner neglect and tenant indifference and destructiveness, homes remained in a constant state of uncleanliness and disrepair. Second, living packed together in such squalor, the people were subject to illnesses and diseases. The death rate, especially from tuberculosis, was unusually high. Because of this, many turned to faith healers and quacks of all kinds who offered them some form of magic relief for the ailments they suffered. Third, the community became a center of vice and gambling. There were houses of prostitution, saloons, gambling establishments, etc. During the prohibition era, Harlem was crowded with speakeasies. Fourth, because working mothers had little time to care for their children and because there were many broken homes, there was a high incidence of juvenile delinquency. Fifth, the constant population change hampered efforts of social service agencies to help improve the community.

Some success, however, was achieved by the various social service agencies that sought to remedy some of the conditions in the Harlem community. The Y.M.C.A.'s were expanded. A visiting nurse service was instituted. A Harlem Tuberculosis and Health Committee sought through programs and lecturers to help the people understand the nature of tuberculosis and to deal with the disease. A Children's Aid Society helped young people and arranged camping experiences for children. Attempts were made to organize Black workers. Groups were created to improve housing and to build new dwellings for the people. The task was a difficult one in the face of so much disorder, but much good was accomplished.

As the influx of Blacks into the city continued, as health improved, as more opportunities were opened to Blacks for jobs in various industries and professions, they began to move to other parts of New York City. Communities of Blacks are to be found in the Bedford-Stuyvesant and other sections of Brooklyn and in many sections of Queens. Partly the result of militancy and protest on the part of their leaders, and partly because of a new white sensitivity to their needs, the condition of the Black citizen in America and in New York City is gradually improving. More jobs at better pay are more readily attainable as are opportunities for education and upward mobility. Newer and better homes are available as are places for recreation and entertainment. Blacks are to be found in all the arts: the theatre, dance, films, television, literature, etc. They are making names for themselves in sports, as well as in politics. Black studies have been introduced in most universities. In short, the Black is being accepted as an equal in American society. There is much that needs to be done. But the process has begun. There may be some disappointments, but the way the country is going, the process and the programs for a better life for the Blacks cannot be stopped.

1. From: Manchild in the Promised Land, by Claude Brown

I used to feel that I belonged on the Harlem streets and that, regardless of what I did, nobody had any business to take me off the streets.

I remember when I ran away from shelters, places that they sent me to, here in the city. I never ran away with the thought in mind of coming home. I always ran away to get back to the streets. I always thought of Harlem as home, but I never thought of Harlem as being in the house. To me home was the streets. I suppose there were many people who felt that. If home was so miserable, the street was the place to be. I wonder if mine was really so miserable, or if it was that there was so much happening out in the street that it made home seem such a dull and dismal place.

When I was very young -- about five years old, maybe younger -- I would always be sitting out on the stoop. I remember Mamma telling me and Carole to sit on the stoop and not to move away from in front of the door. Even when it was time to go up and Carole would be pulling on me to come upstairs and eat, I never wanted to go, because there was so much out there on the street.

2. From:"The Way It Is" by Ralph Ellison in Ethnic Writers in America, edited by Myron Simon.

As is true so often in Negro American life, Mrs. Jackson, the mother, is the head of her family. Her husband had died several years ago; the smaller children were babies. She had kept going by doing domestic work and had kept the family together with the help of the older boy.

There is a quiet courage about Mrs. Jackson. And yet now and then the clenching and unclenching of her work-hardened fingers betray an anxiety that does not register in her face. I offer to wait until after she has eaten, but she says no, that she is too tired right now and she would rather talk than eat.

"You finding the writing business any better since the war?" she asked.

"I'm afraid not," I said.

"Is that so? Well I don't know nothing about the writing business. I just know that don't many colored go in for it. But I guess like everything else, some folks is doing good while others ain't. The other day I was over on 126th Street and saw them dispossessing a lawyer! Yes, sir, it was like back in the thirties. Things piled all over the sidewalk, the Negroes a-hanging out of the windows, and the poor man rushing around trying to get his stuff off the streets before it got dark, and everything."

I remembered the incident myself, having passed through the street that afternoon. Files, chest of drawers, bedsteads, tables and barrels had been piled along the sidewalk; with pink, blue, and white mattresses and bundles of table linen and bedclothing piled on top. And the crowd had been as she described: some indignant, some curious, and all talking in subdued tones so as not to offend the evicted family.

3. From:The Immigrant Experience, edited by Thomas C. Wheeler. (Selection from "Time and Tide" by John A. Williams)

Of all the immigrant Americans, the blacks represent the only ethnic group still migrating in large numbers, and what they are leaving when they can, as other immigrants left, is oppression and economic and spiritual poverty. Their movements from South to North, from farms to city, express the unfaltering hope of all men that a better life exists in regions where they did not grow up.

As with most American Negroes of my age, my roots lie in the Deep South. My mother's family lived for generations in that most obscene, most vicious, most ridiculous and murderous state in the Union, Mississippi. When you are oppressed, as any immigrant can tell you, you fight back if you can or dare; if you cannot and you have the means, you leave. If that is impossible, you stay and accommodate yourself to it and hope for a break in the near future...

There were few complaints of segregation or discrimination, the immigrant population the world over expects to start at the bottom and work to the top. I sometimes think that the blacks of my parents' generation were the last to believe, at least partially, that hard and honest work brought good reward. We moved about the city, within well-defined areas, most of them close to the New York Central rails that went through the heart of the city. Our moves, of course, were made hand in hand with our fortunes, and these were tied to my father's work. He was a day laborer; the label "non-skilled," bears a stigma today, but it didn't then. I live in New York City now and I don't often see men dressed in the clothes of a laborer -- gray trousers, bulky, colorless sweaters, dust-lined faces, and crumpled caps or felt hats bent out of shape; nor do I smell honest sweat anymore, strong and acrid, as I used to smell it on my father and later on myself. I remember him -- a chunky little man a bit over five feet tall, all muscle, and with the sharp face, high cheekbones, and prominent nose of an Indian -- walking briskly down the street in the mornings, trailing his hand-truck behind him. He supported us on his back and muscle, his sheer strength,which was considerable.

4. From: The American Negro, by Rayford W. Logan and Irving S. Cohen.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Wilson ordered the segregation of Negroes in the departments of the federal government. At the same time, Negroes in the national capitol were excluded from many hotels, restaurants, and theaters.

The years following the outbreak of World War I in Europe proved to be difficult ones for American Negroes. The year 1915 marked the end of a half-century of emancipation, but it also saw the lynching of 69 Negroes, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, and the showing of a widely-acclaimed film, The Birth of a Nation, which reflected the South's strong anti-Negro bias. Booker T. Washington's death in November, 1915, left American Negroes without a widely-accepted spokesman. As concern mounted over the bloodshed in Europe, Negroes in America continued to suffer oppression and brutality. In 1916, a Negro was burned alive in Waco, Texas, before a crowd of cheering bystanders; another was lynched in South Carolina for refusing to accept the price offered for his cottonseed.

Soon after the United States entered the First World War, a race riot broke out in East St. Louis, Illinois. This riot cost the lives of forty Negroes. In July, 1917, some 10,000 Negroes in New York City marched in silence to protest lynchings and racial violence. Americans were arming themselves to make the world safe for democracy, but they had failed to achieve democracy at home.

5. From: Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, by Gilbert Osofsky.

High rents and poor salaries necessarily led to congested and unsanitary conditions. The average Negro Harlemite in the 1920's as in the 1890's, held some menial or unskilled position which paid low wages -- work which was customarily "regarded as Negro jobs." There were generally two types of businesses in New York in terms of Negro hiring policy, E. Franklin Frazier wrote: "Those that employ Negros in menial positions and those that employ no Negroes at all." Macy's, for example, hired Negroes as elevator operators, escalator attendants and cafeteria workers; Gimbels used none. "We have felt it inadvisable to (hire) colored people," a Metropolitan Life Insurance Company executive explained in 1930, "not because of any prejudice on the part of the company, but because... there would be very serious objection on the part of our white employees..." Throughout the city the vast majority of Negro men worked as longshoremen, elevator operators, porters, janitors, teamsters, chauffeurs, waiters and general laborers of all kinds. Negro women continued to work as domestics ("scrub women"), although in the 1920's an increasing number were employed as factory operatives in the garment industry and in laundries. Less than 20 per cent of Harlem's businesses were owned by Negroes. The average Harlem family, according to President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, earned $1,300 a year in the twenties; the typical white family in the city, $1,570. A variety of social investigations noted that working-class whites expended approximately 20 per cent of their income for rent, considered the proper amount by economists; Harlemites, 33 per cent and more. An Urban League study of 2,160 Harlem families demonstrated that almost half (48 per cent) spent 40 or more per cent of their earnings on rent. A 1928 sample of tenement families found that Harlemites paid 45 percent of their wages for housing. Similar conclusions were reached in a variety of local community studies. Whatever the exact figure, few Negroes looked to the first of the month with expectancy.

Questions

Selection

1. From what you read and from your own experience, can you tell why Claude Brown as a child was so fascinated by the street?
2. The author in this selection is interviewing a Black mother. The selection describes two situations of Blacks in Urban America that were fairly typical. What is Mrs. Jackson's attitude toward the writing business? Why is the author interviewing her?
3. According to this selection, why were Southern Blacks leaving their homes and farms to go North? What kind of work did the author's father do? How does the author remember his father? With understanding? With affection? With respect? With anger? With disappointment? With pity? What do you think? Prove your view with reference to the text.
4. Why were the years following the outbreak of World War I in Europe difficult ones for the Blacks in America? What was ironic about the way Blacks were treated at that time?
5. This selection enumerates the plight of the Blacks in Harlem in the 1920's. What kinds of jobs were open to them? What comparisons between conditions of the Whites and that of the Blacks does the author make? If you read this information as a report

from an investigator, what programs would you recommend to remedy this situation?

Suggested Activities

1. Write a description of your street, perhaps as a setting for a short story. Mention some incidents that make your street an exciting and/or interesting place to be. Describe some of the people who live on your street, including perhaps some conversations that you overhear.
2. Make a comparison between conditions for the Blacks in New York City in the 1920's and conditions today. Have any improvements been made? What are they? In your view, what more needs to be done?
3. There are many different groups of Blacks in the city. The majority of them are descendants of migrants from the South. Many are descendants of West Indian Blacks; that is, their parents and grandparents came from dozens of different islands in the Caribbean. There are today many groups of Blacks from other countries like Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Select one of these groups and make a study of its culture - religion, dress, food, celebrations, family structure, work, etc. - and report your findings to the class.

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Renkiewicz, Frank.	THE POLES IN AMERICA 1608-1972
Sloan, Irving J.	THE JEWS IN AMERICA 1621-1970
Tung, William L.	THE CHINESE IN AMERICA 1820-1973

APPENDIX A

CROWN HEIGHTS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

The following selections describing conditions in Crown Heights, a community in Brooklyn, New York, was prepared by Sister Ann McLaughlin, one of the teachers in the course at New York University. They were prepared to focus attention of her students upon the community elements they were to investigate. A major project of her class was to prepare a slide program with a script recorded on a cassette that illustrated the different aspects of the Crown Heights community summarized in these articles.

THE COMMUNITY

Crown Heights is a one and one-half square mile anvil-shaped area in Central Brooklyn. It is wedged between Bedford-Stuyvesant on the north, Brownsville on the east, Flatbush-East Flatbush on the south and Prospect Park on the west.

Eastern Parkway, the neighborhood spine, sits atop a terminal moraine which bisects the district and borough. Streets slope downhill from the parkway, with the more noticeable incline to the south.

The area was first developed as farmland about the time of the American Revolution. From about 1820 until 1870 it contained a relatively prosperous black settlement known as Weeksville. Ironically, it appears that when whites moved into the neighborhood, Weeksville lost its identity as a black enclave and most of the blacks left. Traces of the settlement were recently uncovered during demolition for a public housing project. The church at Schenectady and Dean Streets, built in 1849, remains the oldest black church on its original site in the City.

A grid street pattern was laid out for Crown Heights by 1855, preparing for subsequent urban development. Of more consequence to the future of the area was the choice of Frederick Law Olmsted to design a major new public park on Prospect Hill. In addition to work on the park, in 1868 Olmstead prepared a plan for Eastern Parkway. He envisioned it as the central corridor of a new suburban development with adequate green space, separation of functions and community recreation areas.

Eastern Parkway and surrounding streets were laid out by 1873. Prospect Park itself was completed in 1874. By 1890 Crown Heights had almost 34,500 residents. A number of impressive houses were constructed in the area, with a particularly noteworthy group on St. Mark's Avenue. Among these were the mansions of Ludwig Nissen and Abraham Abraham, one of the founders of Abraham and Straus. Nissen, a German immigrant and successful jeweler, modelled his house after the Potsdam palace. The Nissen mansion was demolished, while the Abraham house has survived, although in precarious condition. Landmark designation for this house has been proposed.

Physically, Crown Heights is one of the most beautiful neighborhoods in New York City. Many of the blocks are not only tree-lined but are dotted with newly installed gaslights. There are many different types of architecture throughout the area.

Transportation facilities also influenced development patterns. The northern part of the district has been served since before the Civil War by the Atlantic Avenue right-of-way of the Long Island Railroad.

Local service on this line provided the only mass transit service to the district until completion of the Fulton Street elevated railway in the 1880's. Only the Nostrand Avenue station of the Long Island Railroad remains in use here, but it is a heavily used means of access to Long Island. By the 1890's the Fulton Street line had been extended to six north-south streets, two of which crossed Eastern Parkway to the south. The Fulton Street line connected the area with downtown Brooklyn and the ferry terminal at the end of Fulton Street. This elevated line was replaced in the 1930's by the Independent Subway line which runs along Fulton Street as well as along the western boundary of the district.

Eastern Parkway, until the 1920's, formed the southern boundary of "suburban" Brooklyn development. In 1913, only 30 percent of the streets below the parkway were paved. But new construction changed the character of Crown Heights with the opening of the IRT-New Lots Avenue subway through the district in 1920. Land values doubled in the center of the district during the decade. Four and six-story apartment houses predominated. This building boom of the '20s was the last major wave of development in Crown Heights. The area looks today generally the way it did at the end of that decade.

THE PEOPLE

The most significant change in Crown Heights over recent years has been in its population. From the 1920's until recent years, the Jewish population was dominant. As recently as 1950 almost half the population was Jewish. The percentage has decreased since, but a significant number of Jews remain. Among them is the distinct Hassidic community. They migrated from Williamsburg in the 1940's and continue to play an active role in Crown Heights.

Crown Heights today is a community of approximately 215,000 people. There has been little absolute change since 1950, and practically none since 1960 when the population was 206,000. The numbers give a misleading picture of stability. Crown Heights has been through a period of turbulence. Approximately 75 percent of the residents moved in during the past decade; more than half between 1965 and 1970. Moreover, the population changed during this period between 1960 to 1970 from 70 percent white to 70 percent black.

The increase in the black population began shortly after the Second World War. Blacks came from neighboring Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, and East New York and concentrated almost entirely around Atlantic Avenue in the Children's Museum area. Many were middle-income and were of West-Indian, Haitian and Jamaican origin. For them, as for many of Crown Heights' earlier Jewish residents, the move meant an opportunity to live in better housing in a more attractive neighborhood. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of blacks in the Children's Museum area doubled to two-thirds of the population. By 1960, blacks had moved into the area between Eastern Parkway and Lefferts Avenue. According to the 1970 census, only the area south of Lefferts Avenue remains predominantly white.

The change in ethnicity has been accompanied by social disruption. One response was the formation in 1964 of a civilian defense patrol called the Maccabees, intended to supplement the police. The Orthodox Jewish patrol's membership was ultimately broadened to include 60 non-Jews, 20 of whom are black. The Maccabees operated until 1970 when it was disbanded.

Real family income in the area has increased slightly in the past decade. The number of families earning in excess of $15,000 more than doubled. Thirty-four percent of the families in the neighborhood earn over $10,000 per year. But, the number of families receiving public assistance has also been increasing rapidly. By 1970, there were about 35,000 welfare recipients and 13,200 households with incomes below the Federally defined poverty level. Crown Heights now ranks 14th among the City's 62 planning districts in welfare case loads as a percentage of households.

However, there is no discernible pattern according to income as to where people live. No one section can be identified exclusively as a poverty area or an upper-middle-class enclave. We found that one building could have a majority of families on welfare, while the adjoining structure had none. If any generalization can be made, it is that many families south of Eastern Parkway have higher incomes than those north of the roadway.

It wasn't until 15 or 20 years ago that any deterioration of the housing stock, consisting mainly of masonry row houses, generous New Law buildings, and post-1929 apartment houses, became evident. While recent surveys show that the housing is still basically sound, many property owners have deferred necessary maintenance expenditures and the new population has placed trying demands on the housing. Upwardly mobile families are replaced by multi-problem families who can afford only a minimal rent, or whose rent is paid through public assistance programs.

NEIGHBORHOOD BUSINESS ANALYSIS

National shopping patterns for the last two decades have undergone a gradual but steady change. Both in urban and suburban areas, a growing number of purchases is being made in large department or discount stores rather than in small stores. This is true even if shoppers must travel a great distance beyond local stores. Large stores offer a wider selection of merchandise as well as lower prices. As a result, the overall number of stores, nationwide, has been decreasing, while the size of stores has been increasing. This pattern is for both comparison goods stores (those selling clothing, furniture, and appliances) and convenience goods stores (those selling food, drugs, liquor and other items frequently purchased). Supermarkets have also grown bigger and include non-food merchandise.

Retailing in Crown Heights went through a period of decline between 1958 and 1967, but has held steady since 1967. During the 1958-67 period sales decreased more than could be accounted for by income considerations alone. Decline in sales volumes in Crown Heights were greater than those that would have taken place had incomes kept pace with city-wide trends and had sales increased relative to income. The number of establishments catering to daily needs declined by a greater percentage in Crown Heights than in Boooklyn as a whole. We attribute the decline in part to the general tendency to shop out of local neighborhoods, but in part also to the fact that during this period where was an exodus of the Jewish population of Crown Heights, which formerly made up a large part of the community, and which tends to patronize local stores more than other ethnic groups. Since 1967 the Jewish population in the area has stabilized and may be increasing. At the same time, the nonwhite population of Crown Heights seems to be rising very slowly, and median income has also risen slightly. The future for a stable level of local shopping seems promising.

Investigation has shown that business is in as good a position now as it was five years ago, and that the outlook for the future is healthy. After some years of transition, neighborhood business activity has re-established itself in different locations, and with different mixes of stores and merchandise.

Few merchants seem to feel that the problems they face are so serious as to force them out of the district unless business and personal conditions should appear unusually difficult. However, unless steps are taken to improve the business environment, a slow decline of smaller businesses can be expected. Larger businesses, particularly food stores, which are less susceptible to robbery and vandalism, will probably not dwindle very rapidly.

Crime and petty theft are clearly the major immediate problems facing businessmen in Crown Heights. The most important element of a program to encourage local business activity is to take measures to reduce crime.

Sanitation is a major interest of many Crown Heights merchants. The sidewalks of the commercial streets are littered with trash. Clean sidewalks would make the stores more attractive to shoppers.

Based on a study of merchants grouped ethnically it was discovered that most of the Orthodox Jewish merchants interviewed were located on the southern blocks of Kingston and Utica Avenues. Of the other white merchants interviewed, there were concentrations on Flatbush Avenue and on Nostrand Avenue below Empire Boulevard. Black merchants were also found in nearly every block, with the highest concentrations in the northern portions of Utica, Nostrand and Troy Avenues. There is no difference between ethnic groups in the type of business operated.

Of the businessmen interviewed, proportionally more blacks than whites live in Crown Heights and proportionally more nonwhites live on the same block as their businesses. More nonwhites than whites operate businesses less than seven years old at the present location. More Orthodox Jews than any other group operate businesses more than ten years old in the present location. Blacks, Puerto Ricans and West Indians have been the shortest time in the present locations, and Orthodox Jews, by far the longest time. The proportions of white and nonwhite merchants who own their buildings are approximately equal.

With regard to attitudes towards business conditions, more blacks than the average felt that business is better now compared to last year. Nonwhites are more inclined than whites to plan expansions.

In general, the merchant survey supports common hypotheses about the changing ethnic and racial mix in Crown Heights. It also suggests that nonwhite businessmen do not pay higher rents than whites, nor do they appear to have leasing problems. Their perception of problems is generally the same as that of whites. On the other hand, they are more interested in the future of their business in Crown Heights.

APPENDIX B

AN INTEGRATED COMMUNITY IN QUEENS

The unit which follows was prepared by Sister Theresa McCombe, also a teacher in the course at New York University. In addition to participating in class discussions, and engaging in research and in interviewing community people, students were asked to interpret posters and various types of sociological data recorded on transparencies. The unit indicates what subjects and themes were enunciated and analyzed by means of posters and transparencies. Sister Theresa provided her pupils with historical background of the two communities -- Cambria Heights and Laurelton -- to help them in their interviews with people as they sought a history of individual connection with the community and a better understanding of community problems and ways to deal with them.

OBJECTIVES

A. Dispell incorrect concepts held by middle class students of suburban communities with reference to the Afro-American living within the New York Metropolitan Area.

B. Develop a sense of community pride in one's neighborhood especially of Cambria Heights and Laurelton.

INTRODUCTION

A. Why an in-depth study of southeast Queens?

Have students list their ideas of an American Black section. (Poster #1)

Does Cambria Heights and Laurelton fit this word picture?
Why? Why not? (Poster #2)

This section of Queens started to become a black neighborhood in the 1960's.

B. What were the determining factors leading to this fact?

Block busting...a workable definition for students to understand...block busting occurs when real estate brokers solicit within a given section homes to be put up for sale. Frequently the homeowner is warned that if he doesn't sell now he will not receive the full value at a later date. Once the home is on the market, only individuals of a certain ethnic or racial group are encouraged to buy them. (Poster #3)
According to the Long Island Daily Press there were more than 125 real estate brokers active in this area during the 1960's.

C. Red Lining...a workable definition for the students. This is the discriminatory lending practice in which banks refuse to grant any mortgages in certain areas...usually black because of a high rate of defaults and foreclosures. (Refer to map #1)

E. Interview local store keepers and try to determine if they:
  live in the community
  sponsor youth activities
  belong to the Chamber of Commerce
  [determine what their greatest problem is.]
This information should be placed on large charts and a comparison can be made between Cambria Heights and Laurelton.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

A. To be handled in a discussion.
Why was "Concerned Citizens" formed?
What is the Blue Light Patrol?
How has the community fought against "block busting?"
What is Laurelton's answer to the closing of all supermarkets along Merrick Road?
The needed information can be found in the submitted noted notes and from newspaper articles; interviews with local political leaders.

FUTURE OF THE CAMBRIA HEIGHTS-LAURELTON COMMUNITIES

Active participation in community affairs will bring about:
stabilized community
good and improved housing
better schools
lower crime rate
pleasant neighborhood in which to live

ADDITIONAL PROJECT IDEAS

A. Draw posters advertising the Cambria Heights-Laurelton area as an appealing place to live and work.

B. Make a collage of various ways students may help to create a feeling of friendship and cooperation in this area.

LOCATION OF CAMBRIA HEIGHTS AND LAURELTON

A. Map of New York City

B. Map of Queens

C. Map showing surrounding neighborhoods (map #1)

HISTORY OF CAMBRIA HEIGHTS AND LAURELTON

A. Summary of history - pages

B. Map before communities were formally created (T#1)

C. Visit to local libraries for additional research material.

POPULATION STUDY

A. Ethnicity (T #2)

B. Age (T #3)

C. Housing (T #4)

D. Education (T #5)

TRANSPORTATION

A. Refer to large area map, list major roadways - Linden Boulevard, Merrick Road, Francis Lewis Boulevard, Springfield Boulevard, Cross Island Parkway, Sunrise Highway.

B. Outline bus routes (T #8-9)

C. Send for free copy of bus routes in Queens - MTA.

EDUCATION

A. Name & locate schools in the area - use wall map and T #5.

B. District 29 is overcrowded therefore many students are bused to District 26.

C. District High School is Andrew Jackson and there are many problems. Some parents are interested in "The Optional Enrollment Plan."

D. Schools are between 90 and 97% black.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

A. Day Care Centers

B. Libraries

C. Civic Association

D. Concerned Citizens

E. Blue Light Patrol

F. Block Associations

G. Senior Citizens Groups.

H. On large charts have students list the names and addresses of the groups listed from A to F.

I. Interview a representative of each group so as to determine the aim or goal of the group; who can join and take an active part.

J. List positive ways students can be of service to the senior citizens of the area - wall chart and action pictures.

INSTITUTIONS

A. Place of Worship (T #10)

B. Schools (T #5)

BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

A. Linden Boulevard and Merrick Road (T #6 and7)

B. Community Action Plan
"Technical Background Data for the Laurelton-Cambria Heights Action Plans" prepared for the City of New York, Department of City Planning, Office of Neighborhood Services.

C. Have students list actual changes which have taken place.
Take a wlaking tour of Linden Boulevard and Merrick Road.
List the following items:
vacant stores
remodeled stores
types of businesses
churches
recreational places.

D. Students to make suggestions as to how the commercial area could and should be improved.

HISTORY

Between 1656, when the first settlers arrived in the area known as Cambria Heights, and the mid-1800's very little is known about the section other than the existence of woodland area and a few scattered farmers. Before the advent of the community, the land on which it formed was divided into tracts belonging to five families. They were the Rottkamps (this family owned large sections of Elmont, Valley Stream and Franklin Square), Nostrand, Reddington, Kromanacker and Miss P. Bart.

By the early 1900's a small farming community developed, interspersed with undeveloped land. Vegetables were the main produce and these were taken to the farmers markets, the Wallabout Market in Brooklyn or to markets in Manhattan. These trips were considered major excursions since there were only a few roads in existence at the time, Hempstead Turnpike and Merrick Road (East-West), and Springfield Boulevard (North-South).

By 1914, there were still not more than ten houses near Linden Boulevard, which is today's Cambria Heights main thoroughfare. There was one general store for groceries and household items at the cross section of Linden Boulevard and Springfield Boulevard. Though there was no post office in the area, mail deliveries were made twice daily from the Queens Village Post Office.

In the early 1920's the Cambria Holding Company of Cambria County, Pennsylvania began a building project in the area, on land that had been purchased from the tract owners. Before this building activity began, the section was called Kerosene Hill because there was no gas available to the area. The name Cambria Heights came into use because of the Holding Company's name and the fact that the area is 48 feet above sea level, one of the three highest points in the five boroughs of New York City.

In 1923 Oliver B. LaFreniere, a developer and real_tor began the construction of a large block of houses that initiated the official community of Cambria Heights. The oldest house in the community was built in 1785 and is located at the intersection of 119th Avenue and Springfield Boulevard. The descendants of the original owners lived there until 1952. It is now a Garden Center.

The LaFreniere family also supported and managed a semi-professional baseball team.

By 1931, the Community Church located on 220th Street and 115th Road was built, followed by Prince of Peace Lutheran Church located on 115th Avenue and 225th Street, and Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church located on 221st Street and 115th Road. Services were held in tents before the construction of their buildings.

1933 brought the formation of the Civic Association which is still in existence today. The first president was George W. Babcock Jr. Some of the problems he and the organization set out to solve were:

1. lack of public transit service
2. dark and dirty streets
3. lack of fire boxes
4. poor mail deliveries

In 1940 P.S. 147 was built at 218th Street and 116th Avenue. This school is a K to 6 elementary school which encompasses the entire square block. It has several mini classrooms located on a section of its playground. The playground is equipped with many basketball courts, several hand-ball courts, several types of play equipment for younger children. During the hot summer days there is also a small wading pool. This playground is always occupied and busy with activity.

Nine years later population increase required the construction of Public School 176 at 235th Street and 120th Avenue near the south eastern boundary of this community. It too occupies an entire square block. Before the many budget cuts it was opened three nights a week for many and varied activities especially for the teenage population. This program is no longer in existence. PS 176 is a K to 5 school.

In 1949 Sacred Heart Parochial School was built and an addition added to it three years later. This school is located on 221st Street and 115th Road. Sacred Heart is a K to 8 elementary school.

By 1945 Cambria Heights had almost four thousand homes which were occupied, and more in the construction stage. Its construction and population continued to rise through the late forties and early nineteen fifties. Its population consisted of middle income white families both Christian and Jewish. Many heads of the households were employed as police, firemen, telephone company employees, Con Edison employees and blue collar workers. There were less than 5% in the professional fields such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, etc.

In 1948, the sizable Jewish community was able to break ground for a center located on 116th Avenue and 222nd Street. This congregation has now dwindled down to less than 70 active members.

In 1948 the United States Post Office located an office on Linden Boulevard and 222nd Street. Its facilities were expanded to encompass three stories In 1976 it moved to a new ren ovated Grand Union store located on Linden Boulevard and 229th Street. It occupies the entire length of a city block.

Between the years 1945 and 1960 very few notable events occurred within the community. An expression of the residents' feelings regarding this period can be found in a Long Island Press article dated June 23, 1971. According to the article and the long-time residents interviewed, community members took very little interest in each other or the community. They banded together during crisis, such as increased taxes or zoning. "Even long term projects, such as the local volunteer ambulance corps, were supported by a small band of activists rather than the whole community ."

Laurelton

This area was farm land up to about the year 1910 when the Long Island Railroad created a stop along the Montauk line. There were many laurel plants growing wild in and around the station and members of the Long Island Railroad wanted a pretty or attractive name for the area so Laurelton came into being. George Purdy, an airplane manufacturer, built a large estate in the area. A rather large and beautiful golf course with an adjoining club house was built along Merrick Road. The West Side Tennis Club seriously considered moving to Laurelton and for some undisclosed reasons they settled in Forest Hills.

The major home builders were the Gross Brothers, Lawrence Morton and Harry Sirkin. Only one block near the Long Island Railroad station was set aside for business. The rest of the community was sectioned off into side streets and landscaped malls. The housing units are large one family tudor and stucco. One major problem was that no land was set aside for parks or playgrounds. With the construction of the Laurelton Parkway some land was set aside as a result of a concerted community action.

In 1929 the Laurelton Jewish Center opened. In 1949 Temple Beth El of Laurelton constructed a new and modern center. The Isaiah Day School was also associated with the facility. The school was phased out of existence three years ago.

Good Shepherd Lutheran Church is located at 228th Street and 135th Avenue and Evangelical Baptist Church of Laurelton is located on Merrick Road.

In 1934 the Queens-Boro Public Library opened a store front on Merrick Road. Within a four year period the needs of the community had expanded to the point where it was found necessary to erect a permanent structure. The new building is located on 225th Street off Merrick Road.

The Laurelton community continued to grow during the thirties and forties. Tudor and stucco one family homes were built. There was one section north of Merrick Road where a group of garden apartments were built after a much heated community discussion.

Small shops of all kinds flourished along Merrick Road until the construction of the Green Acres Shopping Mall in neighboring Valley Stream just off Sunrise Highway. With its opening, the volume of business began to decline.

In the early 1960's PS 138 and PS 156 became involved in the busing situation. Within a short period of time the local school enrollment changed its character. The black population of Laurelton's two public schools climbed from 2.3% to 27% and from 31% to 54% respectively. The Black resident population during the period only increased from 10 to 15%.

The first white exodus then was not due to a black next door but to the unwillingness of some parents to accept integrated schools.

In 1965 70% of all homes sold in the area were to non-whites and one out of every 20 sold to a white.

Under the leadership of the religious leaders of the community and using Temple Beth El as its base of operation the community leaders who wanted to stabilize the communities attempted to encourage a more integrated type sale of homes. This group sold more than 500 homes. A similar group was organized in the Cambria Heights area but it was not as successful.

The Future of Cambria Heights and Laurelton

In June 1974 the city of New York issued a report entitled "Technical Background Data for the Laurelton-Cambria Heights Action Plan." This report contains a detailed analysis of the retail market, traffic and parking data, information on race and income, housing and schools. The purpose is for an early action program aimed at stabilizing and revitalizing the subject retail facilities.

In response to the report's recommendations in the area of housing, the Cambria Heights Civic Association has begun a drive to enlist an organized core of neighbors who will give warning to those persons whose property indicates neglect.

With regard to school, parents of all school children are constantly urged to become active in their local P.T.A. and to attend the local school District meetings which are held once a month.

There is a strong hope and desire to make this corner of Queens a beautiful, happy and peaceful place to live.